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Reactions to Refugees: Do Stronger Believers in a Just World Compensate, Dehumanize, and Perceive Refugees as More Responsible for their Status?

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Graduate Program in Psychology
A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of
Philosophy
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Reactions to Refugees: Do Stronger Believers in a Just World
Compensate, Dehumanize, and Perceive Refugees as More Responsible for
their Status?

(Thesis Format: Monograph)

by

Amanda N. DeVaul-Fetters

Graduate Program in Psychology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract and Keywords

This research examined Just World Theory (Lerner, 1970) and dehumanization in the context of refugee claimants. Across three studies, threat to belief in a just world (BJW) was manipulated, participants were provided multiple strategies to restore justice, and individual differences in just world beliefs were measured. In Study One, participants read about a refugee persecuted for either political affiliation or race. Stronger believers in a just world were more likely to assign personal responsibility and a larger scholarship to the refugee than weaker believers. Participants viewed the political refugee as more responsible for his status and participants in the high threat condition (irrespective of refugee target) were more likely to admit the refugee into university. Study Two sought to extend these findings by exploring the relation between belief in a just world and dehumanization of refugees, in addition to realistic funding threat. Stronger believers in a just world were more likely to view a refugee as responsible for his status when told he would receive external funding. Stronger believers in a just world also dehumanized the refugee more than weaker believers. Those who believed a scholarship would be externally funded reported that the refugee was more responsible for his refugee status than those who thought their university was providing funding. The goal of Study Three was to compare reactions to refugees versus immigrants. Overall, the immigrant was treated more negatively than the refugee. Further, stronger believers in a just world were more likely to dehumanize both immigrants and refugees than were weaker believers. These findings suggest that dehumanization may help stronger believers preserve their belief in a just world. The justice threat manipulations were generally ineffective; thus, it is difficult to draw a clear link between justice threat and participants' responses to refugees and immigrants. Implications for just world theory and perceptions of refugees and immigrants are discussed.

Keywords: just world beliefs; dehumanization; immigrants; refugees; belief in a just world

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Chapter 1

1 Introduction

Canada is well known internationally for having a strong commitment to offering protection and humanitarian aid to refugees; yet, the narrative surrounding the arrival of refugees in some Canadian media outlets has been negative (see Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Mann, 2010 for discourse analysis). According to Esses, Medianu, and Lawson (2013), most immigrant-receiving Western nations have witnessed a similar shift in the media's negative portrayal of both immigrants and refugees over the past decade. Such discourse has often centered on common themes of health concerns (e.g., spreading of infectious diseases), fear, safety and security concerns, illegality, and criminality (Esses et al., 2013, Hier & Greenberg; Mann). Esses, Veenvliet, and Hodson (2008) found that these portrayals are not without consequences. Negative depictions of immigrants and refugees in the media lead to less favorable attitudes toward these groups. Comments on news articles related to refugees provide a similar narrative. For instance, the following three comments were taken from responses to recent news articles focusing on refugee issues, such as, the decreasing numbers of refugee claimants:

“Small wonder that we get the many spouses of Somali warlords setting up nests in our country.” (Wingrove, *The Globe and Mail*, 2014)

“They are the flotsam and the jetsam that have a "ticket" but no drive, I suspect many just have mental problems as well. They are not worthwhile employees.” (Wingrove, *The Globe and Mail*, 2014)

Canada should not be a dumping ground for refugees. I have fought for my country, and was wounded eight times in combat. I have earned the right to be called Canadian. It is not our duty to take in people who are not willing to fight for their own rights.” (Radia, *Yahoo! News Canada*, 2013)

In the first two quotes above, *The Globe and Mail* commenters are both using dehumanization, or denying humanness to refugees arriving in Canada (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). In the first instance, the commenter is likening Somali spouses to animals (e.g., snakes, wasps, birds) who build nests for their children, rather than using humanizing language that describes a spouse creating a comfortable home. In the second

instance, the commenter is equating refugees with inanimate objects, specifically, floating wreckage and equipment thrown overboard from a cargo ship. According to Haslam (2006), these comments represent an animalistic and mechanistic (respectively) form of dehumanization. Finally, the Yahoo! News Canada commenter is blaming refugees for needing to seek asylum in Canada and is suggesting that if individuals do not wish to be refugees, all they have to do is fight for their rights. However, the situation is rarely that simple.

At first, it may seem strange or perhaps unsympathetic that a person would react negatively to an innocent victim fleeing persecution, a war-torn country, or a refugee camp. This is especially true in North America where a norm of social responsibility suggests that we should be sympathetic toward victims and, when possible, attempt to alleviate their suffering (Berkowitz, 1973). Why, then, would one be motivated to dehumanize or view refugees as responsible for their status, and thus violate a social norm? To address this question, the current three studies examined the growing hostility and negative treatment toward refugees in Canada (see Esses, Veenvliet, Hodson, & Mihic, 2008) using just-world research as a theoretical framework. Specifically, these studies build on over 40 years of research on the need to believe in a just world (Hafer & Bègue, 2005; Lerner, 1970; Lerner & Simmons, 1966) by examining higher versus lower believers in a just world's reactions to refugees in different contexts (e.g., low vs. high threat) and examining a new way for observers to preserve their belief in a just world (dehumanization).

1.1 Refugees in Canada

As a signatory member of the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention, Canada is committed to protecting Convention refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010). According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2013), in 2012 there were approximately 15.4 million refugees worldwide. Of these refugees, Canada welcomed approximately 20,000 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a). Convention refugees are refugees who can no longer return to their home country because they have “a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion” (Citizenship

and Immigration Canada, 2005, p. 34). While Canada is officially committed to protecting these refugees by offering them a safe country to move to, in reality, Canadians often view refugees with hostility. This could be because people believe that refugees often make illegitimate claims, which is a clear violation of justice (Esses et al. 2008). That is, there is a perception that many people falsely claim refugee status in order to jump the queue and avoid having to arrive in Canada through traditional means. From a theoretical standpoint, dehumanization may be used to justify hostility directed toward refugees and refugee policies, such as believing refugees are making false claims in order to illegally enter Canada.

In order to help understand the predictions of the present series of studies, as well as to understand why some people are motivated to view the world as a fair place, it is important to first review the dehumanization and belief in a just world literature. First, the theoretical approaches used to define dehumanization will be discussed, followed by a review of the targets and consequences of dehumanization. Next, the literature that examines belief in a just world as an individual difference variable will be discussed, as well as the suggestion that experimental manipulations of justice threat may also prove useful. Finally, potential strategies that stronger believers in a just world and those who have experienced justice threat may engage in to maintain their belief in a just world will be examined.

1.2 Dehumanization

Dehumanization is the process of denying humanness to another person (Haslam, 2006). In Haslam's integrative review, he describes two forms of dehumanization: animalistic and mechanistic, thereby creating a human-animal and human-object distinction. Animalistic dehumanization involves the likening of humans to animals. In this sense, people in a particular group (e.g., refugees) are described as lacking distinctly human properties such as civility, logic, refinement, intelligence, culture, and moral sensibilities and are therefore compared to animals. This form of dehumanization is also associated with contempt and disgust. The other form of denying one's humanness, mechanistic dehumanization, involves equating humans with machines or robots. In this case, a human is described as being cold and rigid. Mechanistic dehumanization is also

associated with lack of empathy (Haslam, 2006). In sum, Haslam's proposed model suggests that denying others a sense of humanness can be facilitated through different types of dehumanization whereby one denies human characteristics to another.

Leyens et al. (2000) examined how dehumanization would extend to our natural inclination to categorize our social world into in-groups and out-groups. They primarily focused on the tendency to perceive members of an out-group as less human than those in their in-group, or, in their terms, *infrahumanization*. In this sense, *infrahumanization* is a form of ethnocentrism (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014; Leyens et al.). The key difference between dehumanization and *infrahumanization* is that the latter focuses on outgroups being perceived as less than human rather than denying outgroups full humanness. In addition, Leyens et al. (2000) primarily concentrate on the emotional aspect of what it means to be human, in other words, the extent to which one attributes human emotions to in-groups and out-groups. There are primary emotions, such as anger, joy, and fear, all of which are present in primates and other animals. However, there are also secondary emotions, such as pride, remorse, and admiration, which are products of social construction and are therefore uniquely human. When examining *infrahumanization*, Leyens et al. suggested that *infrahumanized* groups are perceived as possessing primary emotions, the ones we share with animals, but are less likely to be seen as expressing secondary, or uniquely human, emotions. Indeed, Leyens et al. demonstrated that both positive and negative secondary emotions are more likely to be associated with one's in-group members, whereas members of the out-group are denied the possibility of having secondary emotions. Though Leyens and colleagues found that primary emotions were equally likely to be associated with in-group and out-group members, this is presumably because these emotions are not restricted to humans.

According to Schwartz and Struch (1989), prosocial values, in particular, are seen as a hallmark of humanity. Through prosocial values and behavior we transcend our animal origins and acquire moral sensibilities. Dehumanization, then, can occur when out-groups are perceived as failing to uphold prosocial values. In this sense, they are deemed immoral and less than human. To assess dehumanization, Schwartz and Struch developed a scale to measure perceived values of a group. If an in-group and out-group are perceived to share similar values they are considered to be sharing a sense of

humanity. However, if one perceives an out-group member as not upholding the same prosocial values they are dehumanized (Schwartz & Struch, 1989).

In addition to the value approach suggested by Schwartz and Struch (1989), Alexander, Brewer, and Herrmann (1999) developed an explicit and blatant measure to assess images used to describe out-groups. When an enemy image is utilized, the out-group member is characterized as evil, immoral, opportunistic, and hostile. Similarly, the barbarian image characterizes the out-group member as enjoying destruction, ruthless, and manipulative (see Alexander et al. for full analysis of images). This measure ultimately examines the extent to which an out-group is perceived as immoral, which has been described as a form of dehumanization (Esses et al., 2008; Schwartz & Struch, 1989). Within the context of the present study, the enemy/barbarian image will be used to assess dehumanization because support for this measure has been found across several domains and in multiple experimental studies (Esses et al., 2008; Esses et al., 2011).

1.2.1 Targets of Dehumanization

In addition to the many theoretical approaches to describe dehumanization, researchers have also examined dehumanization of a variety of different target groups. In Haslam and Loughnan's (2014) review on dehumanization and inhumanization, they illustrated that the prominent focus has been on dehumanization, or the act of denying humanness to ethnic groups. This is often seen during acts of genocide. For instance, Haagenen and Croes (2012) identified distinct acts of dehumanization during the Holocaust and the Rwandan Genocide that the Nazis and Hutu inflicted. Both the Jews and the Tutsi were subjected to dehumanized living conditions (e.g., fenced off ghettos, dehydration), physical dehumanization (e.g., attacked by dogs, rape), and psychological dehumanization (e.g., assigned a number to replace a given name, referred to as cockroaches) by their perpetrators (Haagenen & Croes).

In addition to identifying specific ethnic groups as targets of dehumanization, broad racial groups have also been examined as targets of dehumanization (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). Bain, Park, Kwok, and Haslam (2009) demonstrated that Anglo-Australians implicitly associated robots with ethnic East Asian faces more than White faces. Further, White Australian participants attributed less human nature traits, or

fundamental affective characteristics (e.g., interpersonal warmth) shared among the human species, to Asians than Australians. On the other hand, Chinese participants attributed less human uniqueness, or distinctly human traits (e.g., culture and refinement), to White faces than East Asian faces.

Research on race-based dehumanization has also focused on dehumanizing perceptions of African Americans. Using Leyens et al.'s (2000) approach to dehumanization, Costello and Hodson (2012) demonstrated that White children ages 6-10 years old associated fewer uniquely human emotions (e.g., sympathy and love) to African-American children than to White children. Further, the authors also found that young White children associated fewer uniquely human personality traits (e.g., creativity) to African-American children than to White children. These findings suggest that racial dehumanization can be seen early in life.

Work focusing on the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees is particularly relevant to the present research. O'Brien (2003) examined the metaphors and rhetoric surrounding the United States immigration debate that took place in the early 1900s. His analysis demonstrated various dehumanizing metaphors that were used to portray immigrants, such as flood metaphors, immigrant as invader, animalization of immigrants, and the subhuman nature of recent arrivals (O'Brien). He suggested that these themes were a precursor to restrictive immigration policies, such that by denying members of certain groups' full humanness, these members were also not entitled to human rights or citizenship.

The dehumanization of immigrants and refugees has also been explored in a Canadian context. Hodson and Costello (2007) found that Canadian participants dehumanized immigrants by denying that they possess uniquely human personality traits compared to the Canadian in-group. Additionally, Esses et al. (2013) employed an experimental manipulation to examine dehumanization. The researchers asked participants to read a news article on Steve Martin and included a subtle editorial cartoon at the bottom of the article. The cartoon was experimentally manipulated to either portray an individual approaching an Immigration Canada booth carrying a suitcase with disease labels or suitcases without labels. Although many participants reported not noticing the editorial cartoon, those who viewed an immigrant with a disease labeled suitcase reported

higher levels of dehumanization. The researchers measured dehumanization by examining Alexander et al.'s (1999) enemy-barbarian image (explicit measure) and perceived prosocial values (Schwartz & Struch, 1989). Utilizing the same dependent measures, Esses et al. (2008) documented that participants engaged in the dehumanization of refugees. These findings suggest that refugees were perceived as barbaric and not upholding Canadian prosocial values.

Recently, Medianu, Sutter, Esses, and Gawronski (2013) examined the implicit dehumanization of refugees. In their experiment, they created editorials using a fictitious group of asylum-seekers and measured dehumanization using a sequential priming task. They demonstrated that participants who read an editorial portraying refugees as either bogus queue jumpers or terrorists (compared to a neutral editorial) expressed greater levels of implicit dehumanization of refugees. In other words, Medianu and colleagues found that media depictions of a fictitious group of asylum seekers can lead to heightened mental association between refugees and animals.

In sum, researchers have embraced different theoretical approaches to both qualitatively defining the contrasting dimensions of dehumanization (e.g., primary vs. secondary emotions, animal vs. human distinction) and quantitatively assessing (e.g., explicit, implicit, subtle, blatant) dehumanization (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). Regardless of the perspective or approach that is employed, many different social targets have been found to be denied full humanness. These findings extend across a range of cultures and have emerged during many different points in time. Given that dehumanization has occurred under different conditions and contexts, ranging from the extreme atrocities, like the Rwandan Genocide, to social psychology laboratory experiments, understanding who and under what circumstances individuals are dehumanized can be an important precursor to exploring the consequences of dehumanization.

1.2.2 Consequences of dehumanization

Dehumanization can have many behavioral consequences. One consequence is reduced prosociality (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014) toward the dehumanized group. Using Leyens' et al. (2000) framework that focuses on humans uniquely possessing secondary

emotions, Vaes, Paladino, and Leyens (2002) demonstrated that participants responded more favorably and prosocially in reaction to receiving an email message that began with secondary emotions compared to primary emotions. In light of past work that has demonstrated dehumanized and infrahumanized groups are seen as lacking secondary emotions (e.g., Leyens et al.; Costello & Hodson, 2012), Vaes et al. suggested that groups perceived as lacking secondary emotions would be offered less help. To test this hypothesis, Vaes, Paladino, Castelli, Leyens, & Giovanazzi (2003) experimentally examined differential helping within the context of in-group and out-group members expressing either primary or secondary emotions. Across four studies, they demonstrated that when secondary emotions were expressed, out-group members were treated less favorably and offered less help than in-group members. Further, in an approach-avoidance task, participants reacted more quickly to avoid an out-group member and more readily approached an in-group member who expressed secondary emotions. The expression of primary emotions was not related to differential helping. These findings suggest that out-group members were perceived as violating a stereotypic prescription that they do not possess secondary emotions, a uniquely human experience, and in turn, out-group members were infrahumanized (Vaes et al., 2003).

Another consequence of dehumanization is reduced empathy felt toward the dehumanized group. Čehajić, Brown, and González, (2009) found that in both Chile and Bosnia, reminders of in-group responsibility for atrocities reduced empathy felt toward dehumanized victim groups. In this sense, denying victims full humanness entailed attributing fewer secondary emotions to the out-group (Čehajić et al., 2009). This suggests that victims may be perceived as less able to experience uniquely human emotions. It is important to note that both dehumanization and the role of committing an atrocity likely both contribute to reduced empathy.

Lastly, through a series of experimental studies, Esses et al. (2008) and Esses et al. (2011) found that dehumanizing refugees in the media led to contempt for refugees. They also found that contempt mediated the relationship between dehumanization and negative attitudes toward refugees. These findings suggest that another consequence of dehumanization is contempt for and negative attitudes toward refugees. In other words, these findings demonstrated that dehumanization is not simply a type of derogation;

rather, contempt for refugees and negative attitudes toward the group are a consequence of dehumanization. Although these studies did not examine belief in a just world (BJW), the authors suggested that if a higher status group perceived refugees as less than human, then they might believe that refugees deserved their poor outcomes. Thus, dehumanization might serve as a way to maintain a BJW. The dominant group might believe that because they themselves are not less than human, they will never be faced with the same situation as a refugee (Esses et al., 2008). Furthermore, by excluding refugees from the human in-group, participants could believe that refugees were deserving of their fate (Esses et al., 2011; Opatow, 1995). That is to say, refugees deserve the negative outcomes they experience because they are perceived as being less than human. Or in the case of Vaes et al. (2003), when refugees are perceived as not experiencing uniquely human emotions, they are excluded from the human in-group, and responded to less prosocially.

1.3 Belief in a Just World

The popular phrase “people get what they deserve” succinctly describes the just-world hypothesis. In order for our world to be seen as a just place, we want to believe that people’s fate stems from their personal character and actions (Lerner & Miller, 1978). Simply put, we want to believe that bad things happen to bad people. But what if something bad happens to a seemingly good person? Why, then, would we be motivated to believe that the world is a fair place?

1.3.1 Individual Differences in Belief in a Just World

Although Lerner (1970) described all people’s general tendency to believe in a just world, research over the past 40 years has demonstrated that people differ in the extent to which they believe that the world is a fair and just place (see Furnham, 2003 for a review). In this sense, belief in a just world can be seen as an individual difference variable that describes the tendency of some to believe more than others that victims are deserving of their fate (Hafer & Bègue, 2005). In other words, when stronger believers in a just world are presented with a contradiction to this belief (e.g., a bad thing happening to a good person) they are more threatened by the injustice than weaker believers. This suggests that they are then more likely to be motivated to respond to the target of an

injustice in ways that confirm their belief that the world is a fair place (Hafer & Bègue, 2005). For instance, strong believers in a just world have been found to be more likely to blame (Furnham, 2003; Kleinke & Meyer, 1990), derogate (Furnham, 2003) and compensate (Miller, 1977) innocent victims than weak believers. These findings suggest that stronger believers in a just world are more threatened by injustice and as a consequence engage in various strategies to restore justice to allow them to maintain their belief that the world is a fair place.

Hafer (2000a) expanded on these findings by examining both victim blame and derogation. She found that strong believers in a just world were more likely to blame and derogate an innocent victim than were weaker believers. However, she did not examine positive strategies to restore justice. Haynes and Olson (2006) explored how participants responded to justice threats when both positive and negative strategies to restore justice were available to them. They demonstrated that stronger believers financially compensated an innocent victim to a greater extent than did weak believers, whereas they did not find significant effects of belief in a just world on blame and derogation. These two studies are interesting because they suggest that when multiple methods to restore justice are available, stronger believers sometimes deal with threat using both positive and negative strategies.

Lipkus and Siegler (1993) argued that because stronger believers in a just world are more likely to believe that people get what they deserve and perceive those who have suffered an injustice as acting in ways that suggest they deserved their outcome, they might also be less likely to perceive themselves as victims of personal discrimination. Lipkus and Siegler successfully demonstrated that stronger believers in a just world were not only less likely to perceive themselves as discriminated against, but also less likely to support a program that would help individuals who experienced age based discrimination. Further, compared to weaker believers, stronger believers in a just world were also more likely to indicate age based discrimination was not an issue in American society. These findings suggest that because stronger believers in a just world are more likely to view the world as fair, they may not recognize when they are being personally discriminated against and they might also not interpret their own actions as being discriminatory (Lipkus & Siegler, 1993). An important consequence of this view is that stronger

believers in a just world were also less likely to support funding programs for those in need. Lipkus and Siegler suggested that stronger believers may support funding programs for those who appear to be actively attempting to improve their circumstances but less likely to support those who are unable or unwilling to improve their situation (e.g., handicapped individuals). Lipkus and Siegler also postulate that stronger believers in a just world might be especially unsympathetic to those in need when resources are scarce. These findings suggest important questions for those studying intergroup relations. For instance, how would stronger believers in a just world respond to refugees and immigrants struggling to adapt in Canada? Would they perceive immigrants and refugees arriving to Canada as a form of actively attempting to improve their situation or would they view these newcomers as deserving of their struggles?

The adaptive function that belief in a just world might serve has also been examined within the context of individual differences. Hafer (2000a) argued that a BJW might function as a means to allow us to invest in long-term goals. In this case, living in a just world means that we can be confident that our investments (e.g., psychological, material, and physical) will pay off. Indeed, she found that BJW was positively correlated with investment in long term goals. When this belief was threatened, individuals who pursued their long-term investments through just means (e.g., not cheating to attain their goal) acted in ways to protect their BJW. This study suggests that believing in a just world might allow individuals to engage in long-term goals with the confidence that their investment will later be rewarded (Hafer, 2000a). In other words, because stronger believers in a just world view the world as a fair and just place, they are motivated to defend this belief when it is threatened.

Although these results suggest that belief in a just world can act as an individual difference variable, the scales measuring this construct have been the target of much criticism (see Hafer & Bègue, 2005 for a full review). The Rubin and Peplau (1975) scale dominates the BJW literature, but has been found to be a multidimensional measure with low reliability (Hafer & Bègue, 2005; Furnham, 2003). Lipkus (1991) developed a short, seven-item global belief in a just world scale that has been found to be psychometrically more sound than the Rubin and Peplau measure, but is still susceptible to acquiescence bias (Hafer & Bègue). Due to these limitations, Hafer & Bègue argue that while it is

important for researchers to continue utilizing BJW individual difference measures, we must include experimental manipulations to understand the fundamental need to believe in a just world, as well as the many conditions under which this need arises.

1.3.2 Strategies for Maintaining a Belief in a Just World

Lerner and Miller (1978) suggest that believing in a just world serves an adaptive function. In other words, we have a need to believe that our good deeds and hard work will pay off and that in a fair world we will receive our just deserts. According to Lerner and Miller, the fate of others has implications for our own future. For instance, if a good natured and hard-working individual suffers unjustly, we must come to terms with the fact that we might also receive a similar fate. Similarly, Furnham (2003) suggests that believing in a just world makes us feel less vulnerable. Most of us do not have a bad character and, therefore, do not deserve a negative outcome.

Although there are multiple functions that BJW might serve, when injustices occur and just world beliefs are threatened, a perceiver can restore and maintain his or her sense of justice in multiple ways. The strategies he or she employs can be both cognitive and behavioral, such as derogating the character of the victim (e.g., indicating the victim has a bad character), deeming the victim as behaviorally responsible for the event, or offering monetary compensation. As such, these strategies can also be considered as negative and positive responses to victims.

1.3.2.1 Negative Responses to Victims

Lerner and Simmons (1966) found that participants who were unable to positively compensate a victim whose suffering would continue if those participants were unable to intervene were more likely to derogate the personal characteristics of that victim. This finding suggests that it was too difficult to ascribe behavioral responsibility to the innocent person, likely because it is hard to find fault in a virtuous individual. Derogation allowed the participants to rationalize the incident by thinking that the victim was a bad person whose suffering was just. However, when a virtuous individual or someone of high social status is victimized, derogating his or her character is difficult (Lerner & Miller, 1978). Under such circumstances, people could maintain their BJW by blaming the victim for his or her fate (Lerner & Miller, 1978).

Jones and Aronson (1973) examined the extent to which an individual would exaggerate a victim's behavioral responsibility (e.g., blame the victim). Participants read an account of a rape case in which the status of the victim was manipulated to depict either a virgin, married woman, or divorcee. Participants reported that virgin and married victims were more responsible for being raped than was the divorcee. Although this may seem surprising, it makes sense within the context of BJW. When participants had difficulty derogating the character of the rape victim, they found her more behaviorally responsible. This finding suggests it was difficult to acknowledge that respectable women, such as the married or virgin rape victims, could be raped because it would threaten the belief in a just world. Therefore, in order to maintain their belief that the world is just, participants were motivated to deem these victims as behaviorally responsible (Jones & Aronson, 1973).

1.3.2.2 Positive Responses to Victims

Many studies in the BJW literature fail to include prosocial behavior as a possible response strategy to victims (Hafer & Bègue, 2005). Providing participants with an opportunity to choose a positive response to victims (e.g., compensation) is necessary because Lerner asserted that prosocial behavior was an important strategy for individuals to restore and maintain their just world beliefs (Haynes & Olson, 2006). Unfortunately, the BJW literature has not extensively examined prosocial behavior. According to Haynes and Olson (2006), the BJW experiments that focus on helping behavior often use monetary compensation as their dependent measure. This can be considered a positive response to a victim, whereas the other means of restoring justice (derogation and blame) can be considered negative responses to victims.

According to Lerner and Miller (1978), offering help to a victim should be considered a positive act. In other words, if an individual is capable of helping a victim and helping will not cause harm to the individual, then helping will likely occur. For instance, Lerner and Simmons (1966) found that when observers were able to alter the fate of a victim, they would opt to provide the victim with a more positive circumstance. When the observers were unable to end the victim's suffering, however, they derogated or blamed her. The important point here is that individuals do, in fact, use compensation

as a strategy to restore justice. Although many researchers have revealed multiple positive strategies one could use to alleviate an injustice, such as donating to a cause (Lerner, 1977), offering monetary compensation (Haynes & Olson, 2006), or volunteering their time (Hafer & Gosse, 2010), the majority of the literature focuses on negative responses to victims.

1.3.2.3 Multiple Strategies to Restore Justice

Although many studies have examined the BJW, Hafer and Bègue's (2005) review outlined several directions for future research. For instance, more studies with experimental manipulations are needed. They also suggest that the stimuli should be emotionally engaging and have a high impact, such that the participant would feel that his or her just world beliefs are threatened (Hafer & Bègue, 2005). Consistent with these recommendations, Haynes and Olson (2006) examined BJW experimentally. In most prior studies, researchers only provided one option for participants to restore their sense of justice (e.g., only derogation, Haynes & Olson, 2006). However, Haynes and Olson presented participants with three ways to maintain their BJW (blaming, derogating, and compensating the victim). They also manipulated the character and behavior of the victim via four fictitious newspaper articles, all of which described an accident that left the victim paralyzed. The victim was either portrayed as likeable (a volunteer youth coach) or unlikeable (a drug dealer). Behavioral responsibility was also manipulated by describing the victim as getting hit by a car after either legally crossing the street (low responsibility) or illegally crossing the street (high responsibility). Haynes and Olson (2006) found that participants used different BJW protection strategies depending on the victim's likeability and level of responsibility for the accident. Consistent with previous research, participants found the likeable victim difficult to derogate. When the article depicted a youth coach crossing the street illegally, he was blamed for the accident significantly more than the drug dealer. However, when the youth coach crossed the street legally, he was compensated monetarily to a much larger degree than any other victim. This suggests that the high-likeability-low-responsibility scenario was found to be the most threatening. The drug dealer was also derogated more when he crossed the street legally than when he crossed the street illegally. According to Haynes and Olson (2006),

blaming the high responsibility drug dealer provided an additional way to restore a belief in a just world. Thus, Haynes and Olson addressed a gap in the BJW literature by examining multiple strategies individuals might use to maintain their belief in a just world based on different victim characteristics.

1.3.3 Belief in a Just World and Refugees

Belief in a just world may be an informative framework for the study of blaming refugees. To my knowledge, the link between BJW and attitudes toward refugees has not been directly examined. However, Dalbert and Yamauchi (1994) did address a related research question by examining the relation between BJW and attitudes toward immigrants and foreign workers in Hawaii and Germany. In the Hawaiian sample, Pacific Island immigrants were chosen as the target stimuli. Dalbert and Yamauchi found that, in general, participants whose families immigrated to Hawaii were more likely to believe that the Pacific Island immigrants' disadvantaged status was just, but the same was also true for strong believers in a just world. In the German sample, participants whose fathers had the same job status as foreign workers (blue collar and self-employed) and who were stronger believers in a just world believed that the foreign workers' poor living situations were just. These findings suggest that it could be threatening to accept that victims who are similar to one's group are disadvantaged. Instead, people may deny injustice.

1.4 The Present Research

The purpose of the present research is to examine possible determinants of the negative treatment of refugees in Canada and extend previous just world research (Jones & Aronson, 1973; Hafer, 2000a; Haynes & Olson, 2006) in three important ways. First, previous studies have primarily utilized stimuli that consist of victims of sexual assault (e.g., Jones & Aronson), an accident (e.g., Haynes & Olson), or illness (e.g., Hafer, 2000a). The current research seeks to apply just-world theory to an important new target, refugees. It is important to understand how people, especially stronger believers, respond to just world threats elicited by refugees because there has been a growing resistance to refugees being admitted to Canada, as well as increasing support for more restrictive refugee policies (Esses et al., 2008). For instance, according to a new policy regarding government funded health services, that was implemented in Canada on July 1, 2012,

refugee claimants who are awaiting a decision on their application are eligible for only: (1) urgent and essential health-care coverage and (2) medications and vaccines that treat contagious diseases that pose a public health risk (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). This policy means refugees who are often poor, traumatized, victims of famine and war, and who are very likely in need of long-term and continuous medical attention are being denied access to basic health services and daily medications. Based on the findings of Lipkus and Siegler (1993), it is possible that stronger believers in a just world may view refugees as deserving of their fate and respond in ways that are less supportive of refugees arriving in Canada.

Second, in line with the recommendations of Hafer and Bègue (2005), the current research examines multiple strategies that people use to cope with just world threats. Prior research has primarily focused on blaming (Jones & Aronson, 1973), derogating (Furnham, 2003), and compensating (Miller, 1977) innocent victims. To the author's knowledge, with the exception of the Haynes and Olson study (2006), no other studies to date have examined all three strategies simultaneously. Examining how people may use multiple strategies to restore their belief in a just world in response to the plight of refugees is important because human response to growing refugee populations is more complicated than previous efforts at understanding this phenomenon suggest.

Third, research to date has not examined dehumanization within the context of just world theory. Esses et al. (2011) suggested that high status groups might use dehumanization as a means to justify the fate of refugees. In this case, individuals might justify the negative outcomes refugees experience by perceiving them as not entirely part of the human in-group, thereby denying them full humanness. A key question, then, remains unanswered. Can threats to our belief in a just world be restored by dehumanizing refugees? Further, are stronger believers in a just world more likely to dehumanize refugees than weaker believers? That is, do stronger believers in a just world justify the suffering of innocent refugees by believing subhuman groups deserve to live in subhuman conditions?

To address these gaps in the literature, the current series of studies examined responses to refugees within the context of potential threats to stronger believers' belief in a just world. Specifically, Study 1 examined negative and positive strategies to restore

justice threats, and in Studies 2 and 3, dehumanization was included as an additional strategy participants could potentially use to restore belief in a just world. As suggested by Hafer and Bègue (2005), the stimuli used in all three studies were adapted from a real depiction of a refugee and were emotionally engaging. In addition, the refugee's degree of suffering was high and would continue unless the participant intervened. It was also the case that the participants might be directly impacted by their decision to help because the refugee might have the opportunity to attend their university. The purpose of this manipulation was to ensure the scenario was realistic and relevant to the observer's own world (Hafer & Bègue, 2005). Dehumanization was included as an additional strategy which participants could potentially use to restore belief in a just world.

Chapter 2

2 Study 1

The goal of Study 1 was to examine responses to innocent refugees as a function of individual differences in BJW and a manipulation of justice threat, using a methodology adapted from Haynes and Olson (2006). Behavioral responsibility was manipulated and the extent to which participants perceived a refugee as responsible for his refugee status and compensated the victim served as the primary dependent measures. Specifically, participants read a vignette concerning a refugee named Madut, who in real life was awarded a Student Refugee Scholarship issued by the World University Service of Canada (WUSC; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). The vignette was slightly adapted to make it seem as if Madut was in the application phase for the scholarship. In the vignette, Madut was described as a refugee who was persecuted on the basis of either his political affiliation or his race. Persecution based on political affiliation is considered to be a higher victim responsibility condition because some might consider this an affiliation that the victim could have chosen to change (Walster, 1966). On the other hand, because one cannot change his or her own race, the refugee persecuted based on his race is considered to be a lower responsibility condition. Also, prior to viewing the materials, threat to participants' belief in a just world was manipulated as a between-subjects factor by presenting participants with a video that depicts an HIV victim who was or was not responsible for contracting the disease. The video, an excerpt from *People Like Us* (Fisher & Fisher, 1992), portrays a young woman named Kerry who talks about the daily difficulties she faces living with HIV. This video has been used by past researchers (e.g., Callan, Kay, Davidenko, & Ellard, 2009; Hafer, Bègue, Choma, & Dempsey, 2005) to manipulate justice threat in various ways. In the present study, participants were told that Kerry either contracted HIV after having unprotected sex (low threat) or during a blood transfusion she received after a terrible car accident (high threat).

Due to the novelty of the present research in attempting to apply just-world theory to reactions to refugees, tentative predictions were made. Based on prior research (e.g., Walster, 1966) it was tentatively predicted that participants would perceive the refugee as

more responsible for his status and would be less likely to recommend that Madut be accepted into Western's Student Refugee Program in the political persecution condition than in the racial persecution condition. This is because participants might view the political refugee as someone who could have foreseen political uprising taking place and either chosen to leave his country or change political orientation. In this sense, he would be deemed responsible for being a refugee and viewed as deserving of his fate. However, it was also possible that participants would not differentiate between types of persecution nor would they view the political refugee as behaviorally responsible. That is, because undergraduate students may not be familiar with refugees and the difference between refugee type is subtle, participants might simply see Madut as a refugee regardless of the situational factors that led to his refugee status. Therefore, it is possible that they would treat political and race based refugees similarly.

It was predicted that the effects would be stronger for participants who have higher scores on a BJW scale (stronger believers) when compared to weaker believers, such that strong believers would be more likely to perceive Madut as more responsible for his status and more likely to compensate. In this sense, we expected that stronger believers in a just world might respond to just world threats differently and endorse more than one strategy to restore justice (e.g., deeming Madut responsible and compensating him). As such, we provided participants with alternative methods to restore justice in an attempt to examine which strategy stronger believers selected. Therefore, individual differences in just world beliefs were entered as a predictor variable.

It was also expected that these effects would likely be exacerbated in the high threat condition because in the presence of just world threats, perceiving the refugee as more responsible for his status might be an avenue participants utilize to resolve the threat to their just world beliefs. Also, it was predicted that participants in the high threat condition would award a larger scholarship to Madut than participants in the low threat condition. Presumably, it would be difficult for participants to derogate Madut because his behavioral responsibility is low; therefore, it was predicted that compensation would be used as a means to restore justice. To summarize, a main effect of the individual difference variable belief in a just world, a main effect of refugee type, a main effect of justice threat, and two-way interactions of refugee type x belief in a just world, threat x

belief in a just world, and refugee type x threat, were expected for responsibility, acceptance into the Student Refugee program, and monetary compensation.

2.1 Method

2.1.1 Participants and Design

Participants were 92 undergraduate students (54 male, 38 female) at the University of Western Ontario. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 23 ($M = 18.92$, $SD = 1.03$). Of the 92 participants, 58 reported being born in Canada and 34 indicated they were non-Canadian born. Participants were tested in groups of 1-3 people. All participants received partial course credit in exchange for their participation. Study 1 had a 2 (justice threat: high vs. low) by 2 (refugee type: racial vs. political) design, with individual difference scores in BJW (continuous variable) included as a predictor.

2.1.2 Procedure

Participants were told they would be participating in two separate studies (Processing Emotional Cues and Student Refugee Program) in order to disguise the real purpose of the study (see Appendix A for Study 1 recruitment materials). After participants arrived at the laboratory, they signed a consent form for the “Processing Emotional Cues” study and were randomly assigned to one of two justice threat conditions. Prior to watching the video (justice threat manipulation), participants completed a bogus questionnaire that presumably measured individual differences in people’s ability to detect the emotions and feelings of others (see Appendix B). This measure was included to facilitate the credibility of the cover story. Then, they viewed the video and the threat manipulation occurred. Next, participants were asked to complete a filler questionnaire designed to facilitate the credibility of participating in two separate studies. This questionnaire asked participants to indicate what emotions Kerry might be feeling and the emotions that described how they felt in the moment (see Appendix C).

Upon completion of the “Processing Emotional Cues” study, participants signed consent forms to participate in the “Student Refugee Program” study. Next, participants read about the Student Refugee Program. Those in the political persecution condition read a vignette that described Madut as a political refugee from Sudan and those in the racial persecution condition read that Madut became a refugee because of his race. The

two stories were identical in every aspect except for the basis for being a refugee. The story was taken from the Citizenship and Immigration Canada website and adapted for the purposes of the present study (World University Service of Canada, 2011). Then, participants completed the responsibility, acceptance, and monetary compensation measures, followed by the GBJW scale (Lipkus, 1991) and demographic items, including age, sex, and whether or not they were born in Canada. Finally, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

2.1.3 Materials

2.1.3.1 Student Refugee Program

Participants were told that they would be helping the University of Western Ontario decide whether or not to accept Madut into the Student Refugee Program. To ensure participants fully understood who was considered a refugee, they were asked to read a document that described who is eligible to claim refugee status. The document also provided information on the Student Refugee Program, a real program that is designed to help refugees attend university in Canada by providing the refugee with permanent residency and living expenses for their first year at University (World University Service of Canada, 2011; see Appendix D). This information was designed to increase credibility and provide participants with accurate information regarding refugees.

2.1.3.2 Independent Variables

2.1.3.2.1 Justice Threat

To manipulate justice threat, participants watched a video that depicted a young woman living with HIV (Fisher & Fisher, 1992). In the video, Kerry describes how difficult it is to live with HIV. She discusses how her life has been affected and the emotional difficulties she faces. She also mentions the physical and emotional side effects of her medications. Upon completion of the video, those in the “low justice threat” condition were told by the research assistant that the woman contracted HIV after she had unprotected sex during a one-night stand. This is not considered to be particularly threatening because the woman “deserved” her outcome by not using protection. Participants in the “high justice threat” condition were told that she contracted the virus

when she was given an HIV contaminated blood transfusion following a car accident (see Appendix E). This is considered highly threatening because it suggests that we are all susceptible to a similar fate and our outcomes do not stem from our behavior.

2.1.3.2.2 Refugee Type

Participants read about a young man named Madut who has been living in a refugee camp for many years and has the opportunity to come to University of Western Ontario through the World University Service of Canada's Students Refugee Program (WUSCSR). The real life article described the horror of living in a refugee camp and explained that Madut would likely continue to suffer if he did not receive the scholarship. These features made the vignette emotionally engaging and relevant to the participant, which helped to ensure that strong threat to just world beliefs had been established in all conditions (see Hafer & Bègue, 2005). Next, the vignette described the refugees. In one version, Madut was described as being persecuted based on his race (see Appendix F). As mentioned previously, it is possible that this refugee might be viewed as less responsible for his refugee status as he did not choose his race. In the political refugee condition Madut was described as being persecuted based on his political opinion (see Appendix G). Political persecution was chosen because some might consider this a circumstance that the victim could have anticipated and either chosen to emigrate or change his political viewpoint (Walster, 1966). With the exception of the refugee type manipulation, the two vignettes were identical.

2.1.3.2.3 Belief in a Just World

Belief in a just world was measured using the Global Belief in a Just World scale (GBJW; Lipkus, 1991; see Appendix H). The GBJW scale was designed to measure the extent to which an individual believes the world is fair and just. This questionnaire contains 7 items rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*). An example of an item on this measure is "I feel that people who meet misfortune have brought it on themselves." After reliability analyses confirmed that the scale was reliable ($\alpha = .76$), all items were summed to create a composite score¹.

¹ In Study 1, BJBW was measured post-manipulation. Auxiliary analyses indicated that BJBW scores in Study 1 were not affected by the experimental manipulations.

2.1.3.3 Dependent Variables

2.1.3.3.1 Responsibility

To assess responsibility, participants assigned responsibility to the victim for his refugee status (see Appendix I) with a one-item measure. They were asked to rate how much they believed Madut was responsible for his situation on a 7-point Likert type scale (1 = *not at all responsible* to 7 = *very responsible*). A higher score indicated higher levels of Madut's responsibility.

2.1.3.3.2 Acceptance and Compensation

To measure acceptance into the Student Refugee Program, participants had the opportunity to determine whether or not Madut should receive the scholarship to come to Western (see Appendix I). Then, participants were asked how much they believed the scholarship should be worth (monetary compensation). This question was open-ended (see Appendix I) so that participants could assign as much or as little money as they wished. When a participant did not include a dollar amount and instead indicated Madut should receive "full-tuition," \$5,000 was entered. When a participant indicated that Madut should receive enough money to cover "tuition and living expenses" \$10,000 was entered. Both of these amounts were commonly reported by others who did respond with a monetary amount. The same compensation calculation procedure was followed for all three studies.

2.2 Results

To test Study 1 hypotheses, a series of simultaneous multiple regression analyses were conducted with each dependent variable (responsibility, acceptance, and compensation) as an outcome variable and continuous scores on GBJW, refugee type (political vs. racial), threat condition (high justice threat vs. low justice threat), and the interactions between centered GBJW scores, refugee type, and threat condition entered as predictors. Separate models were run for each dependent variable. The independent variables were effect coded as follows: low threat (-1), high threat (1), racial refugee (-1), and political refugee (1). Means, standard deviations, and psychometric properties of the

measures in Study 1 are presented in Table 1. The correlations between the measures used in Study 1 are reported in Table 2.

2.2.1 Responsibility

Three participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations above the mean on responsibility and were excluded from these analyses. No participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations below the mean. A significant main effect emerged for refugee type, $\beta = .53$, $t(81) = 5.68$, $p < .001$ and belief in a just world, $\beta = .21$, $t(81) = 2.27$, $p = .03$. Participants were significantly more likely to assign responsibility when they read about a political refugee ($M = 2.33$)² than a racial refugee ($M = 1.28$). In addition, stronger believers in a just world ($M = 2.08$) assigned more responsibility than weaker believers ($M = 1.62$). Furthermore, a significant Refugee Type \times GBJW interaction emerged, $\beta = .20$, $t(81) = 2.13$, $p = .04$. Analysis of simple slopes revealed that in the political refugee condition, stronger believers in a just world ($M = 2.87$) reported that Madut was more responsible compared to weak believers ($M = 1.98$), $\beta = .41$, $t(81) = 3.21$, $p = .002$, but in the racial refugee condition, stronger believers ($M = 1.29$) and weaker believers ($M = 1.26$) did not differ in responsibility, $\beta = .01$, $t(81) = 0.10$, $p = .92$ (see Figure 1). This demonstrates that stronger believers in a just world are especially likely to assign responsibility to a political refugee than are weaker believers, but BJW is not related to assigning responsibility to a racial refugee. There were no significant effects (main effects or interactions) of justice threat on responsibility, $ps > .59$. Thus, participants' responses on the responsibility measure were not influenced by the justice threat manipulation.

2.2.2 Acceptance into the Student Refugee Program

Two participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations above the mean and were excluded from these analyses. No participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations below the mean. Justice threat significantly predicted the acceptance of Madut into the Western Student Refugee Scholarship Program, $\beta = .21$, $t(82) = 1.98$, $p = .05$. Those in the high justice threat ($M = 6.16$) condition were

² Predicted means were calculated based on one standard deviation above and below the mean. Because these are predicted means for a continuous variable (e.g., GBJW), standard deviations cannot be calculated. This applies to all discussion of main and interactive effects.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability of the Measures in Study 1

Measure	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Cronbach's alpha
Global Belief in Just World	3.30	0.69	0.76
Responsibility	1.78	1.10	
Acceptance	5.87	1.07	
Compensation	20871.3	16111.82	

Note: The possible range is 1-7, except for the compensation measure.

Table 2

Correlations Between Study 1 Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4
1. GBJW	-			
2. Responsibility	0.13	-		
3. Acceptance	-0.09	-0.04	-	
4. Compensation	.18^	-0.17	.24*	-

Note. * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); ^ Correlation is marginal at the .1 level (2-tailed).

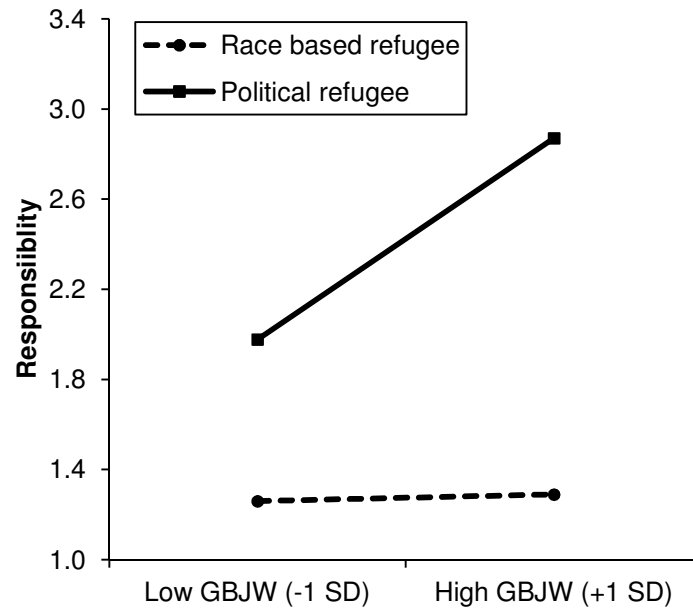


Figure 1. Mean responsibility (out of 7) assigned by stronger and weaker believers in a just world depending on refugee type.

significantly more likely to accept Madut into the scholarship program than those who were in the low threat condition ($M = 5.67$). No other significant findings on the acceptance measure were found. That is, there were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted acceptance, $ps > .19$.

2.2.3 Monetary Compensation

Two participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations above the mean and were excluded from these analyses. No participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations below the mean. For the monetary compensation variable, belief in a just world positively predicted the amount of scholarship money participants gave to Madut, $\beta = .21$, $t(80) = 1.85$, $p = .07$. Stronger believers in a just world ($M = 25,301.70$) were more likely to give Madut a larger scholarship than were weaker believers ($M = 18,259.38$). There were no other significant effects (main effects or interactions) that predicted monetary compensation, $ps > .34$.

2.3 Discussion

Stronger believers in a just world were more likely to believe that Madut was responsible for his refugee status, especially when he was a political refugee. This suggests that when one learns about a refugee who has faced terrible circumstances, one way stronger believers can restore a belief in a just world is to view him as being responsible for his situation. In other words, stronger believers in a just world reported that they believed Madut caused his misfortune as evidenced by the amount of responsibility they assigned. This protects their belief that people get what they deserve because they did not believe Madut was an innocent victim. It is important to note that the findings related to responsibility are relative to the current sample. While means on the responsibility measure were well below the midpoint of the scale, those in the political refugee condition assigned a statistically significant higher amount of responsibility than those in the racial refugee condition. The same is true for the findings related to individual differences on belief in a just world. Although stronger believers assigned significantly more responsibility than weaker believers, stronger believers' scores on the responsibility measure were also well below the midpoint of the scale. Lastly, participants were more likely to report that Madut was responsible for his

situation when they believed that he was being persecuted because of his political affiliation than when they thought he was being persecuted because of his race.

Further, stronger believers in a just world tended to provide Madut with a larger scholarship. This suggests stronger believers can maintain their belief in a just world through monetary compensation, regardless of refugee type. Of interest, stronger believers in a just world were more likely to both view Madut as responsible and monetarily compensate Madut. Although responsibility was used to reduce the amount of potential threat to belief in a just world, perhaps participants' just world beliefs could not entirely be protected through responsibility alone and compensating Madut provided them with a way to reduce his suffering and restore justice.

In regard to acceptance into the program, in general participants in the high threat condition were more likely to accept Madut into the Student Refugee Program regardless of refugee type. This suggests that after viewing a video in which a woman unjustly contracted HIV and then learning about Madut, participants were more likely to help remove Madut from his terrible circumstances. Although these differences were significant, participants in both conditions scored above the midpoint on the acceptance measure.

Although there was only one significant effect for the justice threat manipulation, stronger believers in a just world did respond in the predicted direction. Presumably, reading about Madut's journey as a refugee was enough to induce threat in stronger believers, whereas learning that Kerry contracted HIV after a blood transfusion did not contribute any additional threat to their belief in a just world. It is also possible that in general, stronger believers have a lower threshold for threat. In this case, perhaps reading about Madut and his experiences as a refugee was enough to threaten belief in a just world, and the justice threat manipulation did not create additional threat beyond this. In Study 1, the justice threat manipulation was generally ineffective (only one significant effect emerged for the justice threat manipulation). This makes it difficult to identify a link between justice threat and how participants' responded to victims. Although there were various reactions to victims, it is unclear if these are in reaction to having a threatened belief in a just world. However, stronger believers in a just world did respond differently than weaker believers, suggesting that although the extent to which their belief

in a just world was threatened was not assessed, stronger believers may have been reacting to their belief that the world is a fair and just place.

Chapter 3

3 Study 2

The goal of Study 2 was to extend the results of Study 1 by exploring the relation between belief in a just world and the dehumanization of refugees. Haynes and Olson (2005) found that participants may use different BJW protection strategies. In their case, when the victim was described as illegally crossing the street, he was perceived as being highly responsible for being struck by a car. Participants, then, were more likely to blame him for becoming paralyzed as a result of the accident. In addition to blaming or compensating an innocent victim, it might also be possible to dehumanize a victim as a way to restore a sense of justice. Thus, Study 2 included measures of dehumanization as an additional BJW protection strategy. The dehumanization measures that were chosen have been utilized by past researchers and have been linked to negative attitudes toward refugees (see Esses et al., 2008; Esses et al., 2011).

Study 2 also differed from Study 1 in two important ways. Study 2 did not utilize the refugee type manipulation from Study 1 because it did not influence acceptance or compensation. This perhaps suggests that a different manipulation might better explain when and how belief in a just world leads to derogation of refugees. Thus, Study 2 explored the role of funding compensation in more detail. In particular, Study 2 manipulated the funding source of the Student Refugee Scholarship: internal funding from participants' university or external funding (e.g., government or a private citizen). Participants who viewed an internally funded scholarship might perceive it as taking away limited funding available to them and be likely to experience more threat than those who view an externally funded scholarship. This is likely to occur because individuals experience feelings of realistic threat when there is real or perceived competition for resources (e.g., scholarship funding, jobs; Levine & Campbell, 1972; Esses, Hodson, & Dovidio, 2003). Therefore, it was tentatively predicted that participants would view the internal scholarship as more threatening because it represents a direct threat to participants' own resources.

It is also possible that participants might view external scholarships as "special" or more prestigious and to the extent they feel external scholarships are harder to receive

they may view it as more threatening. In this sense, this type of funding might not induce realistic threat but would create a different type of threat. For instance, external scholarships are much more difficult to receive and stronger believers might believe that in a fair and just world their hard work should also be rewarded with a private and prestigious scholarship. It is also important to note that although the justice threat manipulation did not produce substantial effects in Study 1, it was retained in Study 2 because previous research has suggested that experimental manipulations of justice threat are important to include in studies of this nature (e.g., Hafer & Bègue, 2005).

Similar to Study 1, justice threat was manipulated as a between-subjects factor. Participants watched a video that depicted an HIV victim. Then, they were told that she either contracted the disease due to a blood transfusion received after being in a car accident (high threat) or after having unprotected sex at a party (low threat). Next, participants read a vignette that described Madut's experiences as a refugee and the student refugee program. The source of scholarship funding was manipulated so that it was said to either come from participants' university (internal source) or an external source. Lastly, participants completed the responsibility, compensation, dehumanization, and belief in a just world measures.

It was predicted that effects would be stronger for participants who have higher scores on BJW (stronger believers) when compared to weaker believers, such that stronger believers would be more likely to rate Madut as more responsible, dehumanize, and compensate, especially in the high threat condition and internal funding condition. Therefore, a main effect for belief in a just world was predicted, such that participants who had higher scores on GBJW would perceive Madut as more responsible, compensate, and dehumanize Madut more. Two-way interactions between GBJW and threat on responsibility, compensation, and dehumanization were predicted, such that participants in the high threat condition who were stronger believers in a just world would perceive Madut as responsible, dehumanize Madut more and compensate him more, presumably because he represents a threat to their belief in a just world. Two-way interactions between GBJW and funding on responsibility, compensation, and dehumanization were predicted, such that participants who were stronger believers in a just world and were told the funding was coming from UWO resources would perceive

Madut as more responsible, be more likely to dehumanize Madut, and compensate him more, presumably because he represents a realistic threat to one's own funding.

It was also tentatively predicted that there would be a main effect for funding source, such that participants in the internal funding scholarship condition would be more likely to perceive Madut as responsible and dehumanize Madut and compensate him less than participants in the externally funded conditions. A main effect for threat was also predicted, such that participants in the high threat condition would believe Madut was more responsible, dehumanize, and compensate Madut more than those in the low threat condition. Two-way interactions between threat and funding on responsibility, compensation, and dehumanization were predicted, such that participants in the high threat condition who believed the funding was coming from UWO resources would perceive Madut as responsible and dehumanize Madut more and compensate him less, presumably because he represents a realistic threat to one's own funding. To summarize, a main effect of belief in a just world, a main effect of funding source, a main effect of threat, an interaction of funding source X belief in a just world, and a threat X belief in a just world, and funding source X threat are expected for responsibility, acceptance, monetary compensation, and dehumanization.

3.1 Method

3.1.1 Participants

Participants were 92 undergraduate students (42 male, 49 female, 1 unspecified) at the University of Western Ontario. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 43 ($M = 18.97$, $SD = 2.99$). Of the 92 participants, 75 reported being born in Canada, 16 indicated they were non-Canadian, and 1 did not respond to this item. Participants completed the survey online and all participants received partial course credit in exchange for their participation.

3.1.2 Materials and Procedure

Participants were recruited to participate in a study on "Processing Emotional Cues" and a "UWO Scholarship Program" (see Appendix J for Study 2 recruitment materials). The procedure of Study 1 was directly replicated with two changes to the

materials³. First, the political and racial refugee wording was removed from the refugee vignette and Madut was only referred to as being a refugee (see Appendix K). Second, two dehumanization measures were added to the end of the questionnaire, one applied to refugees and one specifically applied to Madut. To assess the extent to which refugees are perceived as upholding social values (see Struch & Schwartz, 1989; Appendix L), participants were asked to rate how much they agreed that refugees uphold prosocial values on a 5-point Likert scale. The response options for this scale ranged from (0 = *Strongly Disagree* to 4 = *Strongly Agree*). Next, participants rated the extent to which Canadians uphold prosocial values using the same items. A dehumanization score was created by calculating an average score for refugee targets ($\alpha = .82$) and Canadian targets ($\alpha = .83$) and subtracting the average score for refugees from the average score for Canadians. A higher score indicates higher levels of dehumanization of refugees compared to Canadians.

Dehumanization was also assessed by using the enemy barbarian measure (see Alexander et al., 1999, Appendix M). Participants were asked to respond to a series of statements regarding Madut. Three items measured an enemy image (e.g., “Madut’s objectives are self-centered and harmful to others.”) and three items measured a barbarian image (e.g., “Madut is crude, unsophisticated, and willing to cheat to get his way”). These items were rated on a Likert scale with possible responses ranging from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*. An average score was calculated for all six items ($\alpha = .92$). Higher scores indicate higher levels of dehumanization.

3.2 Results

Study 2 had a 2 (justice threat: high vs. low) by 2 (funding source: internal vs. external) design, with individual difference scores on BJW (continuous variable) included as a predictor. To test the hypotheses, a series of simultaneous multiple regression analyses were conducted for each dependent measure (responsibility, acceptance into the student refugee program, financial compensation, and dehumanization) as an outcome variable, and continuous scores on GBJW, funding source (internal vs. external), threat condition (high justice threat vs. low justice threat),

³ In Study 2, BJW was measured post-manipulation. Auxiliary analyses indicated that BJW scores in Study 2 were not affected by the experimental manipulations.

and the interactions between threat condition, funding source, and centered scores on GBJW entered as predictors. Separate models were run for each dependent measure. The independent variables were effect coded as follows: low threat (-1), high threat (1), external funding (-1), and internal funding (1). Means, standard deviations, and psychometric properties of the measures in Study 2 are presented in Table 3. The correlations between the measures used in Study 2 are reported in Table 4.

3.2.1 Responsibility

Four participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations above the mean and were excluded from these analyses. No participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations below the mean. A significant funding source \times belief in a just world interaction emerged, $\beta = -.28$, $t(82) = -2.70$, $p < .01$. Analysis of simple slopes revealed that in the external funding condition, stronger believers in a just world ($M = 2.56$) reported that Madut was more responsible compared to weaker believers ($M = 1.60$), $\beta = .41$, $t(82) = 3.04$, $p = .003$, but in the internal funding condition, stronger believers ($M = 1.49$) and weaker believers ($M = 1.84$) did not differ, $\beta = -.15$, $t(82) = -.94$, $p = .35$ (see Figure 2). This demonstrates that stronger believers in a just world are especially likely to assign responsibility to a refugee who would receive funding from a source outside of the university (e.g., the government and a private citizen) compared to weaker believers. Also, stronger believers did not differ from weaker believers in the internal funding condition.

There were no significant effects (main effects or interactions) of justice threat on responsibility, $ps > .18$. Thus, participants' responses on the responsibility measure were not influenced by the justice threat manipulation.

3.2.2 Acceptance into the Student Refugee Program

There were no significant effects (main effects or interactions) of justice threat, funding source, and belief in a just world on acceptance of Madut into the Student Refugee Program, $ps > .18$. Thus, threat, funding source, and belief in a just world did not significantly predict whether participants indicated that Madut should be admitted into the Student Refugee Program.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability of Measures in Study 2

Measure	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Cronbach's alpha
Global Belief in Just World	3.67	0.96	0.84
Responsibility	1.93	1.18	
Acceptance	5.98	1.10	
Compensation	25268.29	24234.6	
Enemy Barbarian Image (Dehumanization) – Madut	2.45	0.98	0.92
Prosocial Values (Dehumanization) – Refugees	0.58	0.77	0.81

Note: The Possible Range is 1-7 for all measures except Compensation and Prosocial Values (Dehumanization) which is 0-7.

Table 4

Correlations Between Study 2 Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. GBJW	-					
2. Responsibility	0.21	-				
3. Acceptance	0.04	-0.21	-			
4. Compensation	-.33**	-.19*	-.21*	-		
5. Dehumanization (Enemy Barbarian Image) – Madut	.35**	.31**	-.41**	-.22*	-	
6. Dehumanization (Prosocial Values) - Refugees	0.18	.03	-.26**	-.12	.19*	-

5

Note. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

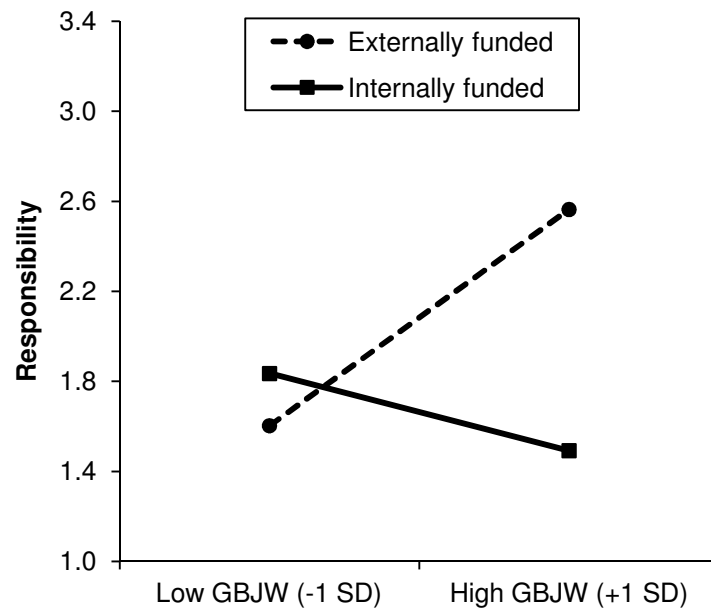


Figure 2. Mean responsibility (out of 7) assigned by stronger and weaker believers in a just world depending on funding source.

3.2.3 Monetary Compensation

For the monetary compensation variable, a significant funding source \times belief in a just world interaction emerged, $\beta = .22$, $t(73) = -2.70$, $p = .05$. Analysis of simple slopes revealed that in the external funding condition stronger believers in a just world ($M = 17,525.12$) financially compensated Madut less compared to weaker believers ($M = 35,442.13$), $\beta = -.38$, $t(73) = -2.51$, $p = .01$, but in the internal funding condition, stronger believers ($M = 25,717.57$) and weaker believers ($M = 22,645.15$) did not differ, $\beta = .07$, $t(73) = .38$, $p = .71$ (see Figure 3). This means that weaker believers in a just world were more likely to give Madut a larger scholarship in the external funding condition than were stronger believers. There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted monetary compensation, $ps > .17$.

3.2.4 Dehumanization - Madut

A significant main effect emerged for belief in a just world, $\beta = 2.70$, $t(82) = 2.44$, $p = .02$. Participants who were stronger believers in a just world ($M = 2.65$) were more likely to dehumanize Madut than were weaker believers ($M = 2.04$). There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted this form of dehumanization, $ps > .84$.

3.2.5 Dehumanization - Refugees

In Study 2 there were no significant effects (main effects or interactions) of justice threat, funding source, and belief in a just world on the extent to which refugees are dehumanized through perceiving them as not upholding prosocial values, $ps > .18$. Thus, neither threat, funding source nor belief in a just world significantly predicted whether participants were likely to dehumanize refugees through denial of prosocial values.

3.3 Discussion

Stronger believers in a just world were more likely to report that Madut was responsible for being a refugee when he would be receiving scholarship money from an

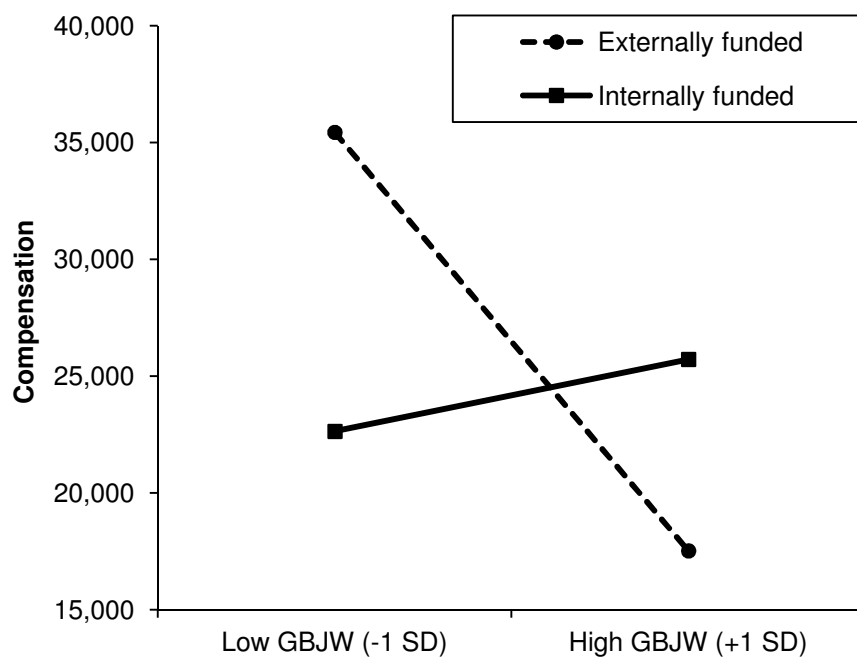


Figure 3. Mean amount of financial compensation assigned by stronger and weaker believers in a just world depending on funding source.

outside source (private citizen or the government). Originally, it was expected that those in the internal funding condition might consider the scholarship to be more personally relevant and, in turn, find this source of funding to be more threatening. However, it is possible that they perceived their university as having a duty to provide an admission scholarship to all students, whereas external scholarships were seen as “special” or “prestigious” sources of funding that were much more difficult to receive. In this context, a participant who was a stronger believer in a just world might believe that they themselves were deserving of a special external scholarship and that Madut was not. Therefore, one way to restore their belief in a just world was to perceive Madut as being responsible for being a refugee. This protected their belief that people get what they deserve; in other words, Madut did not deserve a special scholarship because he was a bad person who was responsible for being a refugee.

It is important to note that the findings on the responsibility measure are relative to the current sample. While there were significant differences in the amount of responsibility assigned between higher and lower believers in a just world in the external funding condition, these scores fell below the midpoint of the scale.

In regard to acceptance into the program, there were no significant effects on the acceptance measure. It is possible that the additional funding manipulation induced enough threat to diminish the justice threat manipulation. It is also possible that participants, regardless of condition, were likely to view Madut as deserving entrance into the program.

Further, weaker believers in a just world in the external funding condition tended to provide Madut with a larger scholarship. Although in Study 1 stronger believers were more likely to compensate Madut, in Study 2 it was the weaker believers who were more likely to financially compensate. In fact, the scholarship amount that weaker believers provided was double that of stronger believers. This suggests that in Study 2 perceiving Madut as responsible for his refugee status acted as the primary response for stronger believers to restore their belief in a just world. This could be due to the funding manipulation. In this sense, perceiving Madut as receiving a prestigious external scholarship may have threatened stronger believers’ belief that the world is a fair and just

place because external scholarships are difficult to receive. Also, stronger and weaker believers in the internal funding condition provided approximately the same amount of financial compensation. This might be because their university provides most students with an admission scholarship and participants might not have believed they needed to financially compensate Madut above and beyond what the university would already likely provide. In contrast, in the external funding condition, it is possible that weaker believers viewed Madut as being in need of extra financial assistance and because their sense of justice was not threatened, they responded prosocially toward Madut. In this sense, weaker believers are less likely to view the world as a fair and just place and were not threatened by Madut receiving a prestigious external scholarship, whereas stronger believers may have been more threatened by this perceived injustice.

In regard to dehumanization, stronger believers in a just world were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut than were weaker believers. This strategy could have been used for two reasons. First, because these participants do not view themselves as less than human, they will never be in the same situation as Madut. This reinforces the idea that participants are protected from negative outcomes. Second, by excluding Madut from the human in-group, these participants can justify their belief that Madut deserved his fate, which was evidenced by stronger believers also blaming Madut for his fate. This finding is important because to date dehumanization has not been examined as a strategy to restore threats to belief in a just world. Of course, this is relative to the current sample and the means on the enemy barbarian measure for both groups were well below the midpoint of the scale. However, it is important to note that participants did not perceive refugees as failing to uphold prosocial values compared to Canadians. In other words, stronger believers in a just world dehumanized Madut himself more than weaker believers, but did not dehumanize refugees in general. Finally, there were no significant effects for the justice threat manipulation. Stronger believers still responded in the predicted direction (e.g., perceived Madut as more responsible than weaker believers) so it is possible that Madut's journey as a refugee was sufficient to threaten strong believers' just world beliefs. Therefore, the effects of stronger believers seem to be independent of inducing justice threat through the Kerry video, and this manipulation was dropped in Study 3.

Chapter 4

4 Study 3

Studies 1 and 2 focused on the relationship between justice beliefs and reactions to refugees. Study 3 intended to explore whether the relation between justice beliefs and reactions to newcomers may extend to other types of immigrants. Therefore, the goal of Study 3 was to compare refugees to immigrants in general. As mentioned previously, the media in Western nations has portrayed both immigrants and refugees negatively and these negative depictions have led to less favorable attitudes toward both groups (Esses et al., 2013; Esses et al., 2008). Further, government policies focused on immigrants and refugees are contentious in most Western immigrant receiving countries (Esses et al., 2013). Although the narratives surrounding immigration policy and refugee policy have many similarities (e.g., Do members of these groups pose a threat?) there is one important difference. In Canada, the media discourse often presents a dichotomy between immigrants as legal economic and family class immigrants and refugees as fraudulent queue jumpers. The dehumanizing attributions (e.g., lacking refinement, animalization, etc.) used to describe refugees in the media have been used to justify support for more restrictive refugee policies (Esses et al., 2011). In sum, there is a nuanced dichotomy between immigrants who are seen as making contributions to Canada and refugees. This dichotomy may be based on the categorical assumption that immigrants are voluntary and desirable migrants who contribute to Canada, and refugees are involuntary and less desirable migrants who are less likely to contribute. As a result of this possible distinction, immigrants and refugees were both used as social targets in Study 3.

A family class immigrant-- an individual who is sponsored by a permanent resident or Canadian citizen--was chosen to be portrayed in the immigrant vignette (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013b). In particular, the immigrant was described as an 18-year-old dependent child sponsored by his parents to come to Canada through the family class stream. The decision to portray a family class immigrant was made for two reasons. First, in 2012, Canada welcomed 2,710 children who were joining their families (i.e., through the family-class immigrant stream) and 4,212 privately sponsored refugees (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a). Although these numbers are not

identical, they are quite similar, compared to other immigrant classifications (Citizenship and Immigration Canada). Second, age and country of origin could be held constant in the vignettes and all attempts were made to make the vignettes as similar as possible.

In Study 3, as in Studies 1 and 2, justice threat was manipulated as a between-subjects factor. As suggested earlier, most of the effects obtained in Studies 1 and 2 were independent of inducing threat through the Kerry video. Thus, a new justice threat manipulation was created and modeled after one used by Hafer (2000b). Participants read one of two fictitious newspaper articles depicting a middle-aged Canadian couple who were involved in a hit and run accident while vacationing in the United States. In the high threat condition, the injuries obtained were quite severe and the suspect was never caught. In the low threat condition, the injuries were described as being minor and the suspect was caught. In this sense, threat stemmed from both retribution and severity.

Based on the findings of Esses et al. (2011), it was predicted that there could be a main effect for target such that participants who viewed a refugee would be more likely to perceive Madut as more responsible for his refugee status, be more likely to accept him into the student refugee program, be more likely to monetarily compensate, and be more likely to dehumanize Madut than those in the immigrant condition. In this sense, because refugees are often portrayed by the media in a dehumanizing fashion and described as spreading disease, taking resources without contributing, and arriving illegally, it is possible that participants will view refugees more negatively than immigrants. On the other hand, it is also possible that participants react in line with realistic and instrumental group conflict theory (e.g., Levine & Campbell, 1972; Esses, et al. 2003) and view the immigrant as arriving to Canada only to compete with Canadian citizens for resources. For instance, if viewed through the lens of Instrumental Group Conflict (Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2005), participants might engage in strategies to remove a competitor from receiving resources, and perceive the immigrant more negatively.

The effects were expected to be stronger for participants who have higher scores on the BJW scale (stronger believers) when compared to weaker believers, such that stronger believers would be more likely to perceive Madut as responsible for his refugee status, dehumanize, and compensate him, especially in the high threat and refugee conditions. Two-way interactions between GBJW and threat on responsibility,

compensation, and dehumanization were predicted, such that participants in the high threat condition who were stronger believers in a just world would perceive Madut as responsible, dehumanize Madut more and compensate him more, presumably because he represents a threat to their belief in a just world. Two-way interactions between GBJW and target type on responsibility, compensation, and dehumanization were predicted, such that participants who were stronger believers in a just world and were told Madut was a refugee would perceive Madut as more responsible, be more likely to dehumanize Madut, and compensate him more, presumably because refugees represent more justice threat than immigrants.

A main effect for threat was also tentatively predicted, such that participants in the high threat condition would likely perceive Madut as more responsible for his refugee status, compensate, and dehumanize more compared to those in the low threat condition. A main effect for belief in a just world was also predicted, such that participants who have higher scores on GBJW would perceive Madut as more responsible for his refugee status, compensate, and dehumanize more. Two-way interactions between target and threat on responsibility, compensation, and dehumanization were predicted, such that participants in the high threat condition who read the refugee vignette were expected to perceive Madut as more responsible for his refugee status and dehumanize and compensate Madut more, presumably because he represents a threat to their beliefs in a just world and refugees are often portrayed in the media as immoral queue jumpers (Esses et al., 2011). To summarize, a main effect of target, a main effect of threat, a main effect of belief in a just world, two-way interactions of target X threat, and target X belief in a just world are expected for blame, acceptance, monetary compensation, and dehumanization.

Additionally, two new questions were added to Study 3 in order to understand participants' opinions of Madut and their motives in assigning responsibility. Participants were asked to report the extent to which they believed Madut's situation was fair and the extent to which he could have avoided it. These questions were designed to be an extension of responsibility; thus, the hypotheses were similar to those for the responsibility measure. It was expected that there would be a main effect for target such that participants in the refugee condition would be more likely to indicate that Madut's

situation was fair and avoidable than those in the immigrant condition. A main effect for threat was also predicted, such that participants in the high threat condition would indicate that Madut's situation was fair and more avoidable compared to those in the low threat condition. A main effect for belief in a just world was also predicted, such that participants who have higher scores on GBJW would indicate that Madut's situation was fair and avoidable compared to those who have lower scores on GBJW. Two-way interactions between target and threat on fairness and ability to avoid his situation were predicted, such that participants in the high threat condition who read the refugee vignette were expected to perceive Madut as more responsible for his refugee status more using these new measures, presumably because he represented a threat to their belief in a just world and will be viewed as more deserving of his fate. These effects were expected to be stronger for participants who have higher scores on the BJW scale (stronger believers) when compared to weaker believers, such that stronger believers would be more likely to view Madut's situation as fair and avoidable.

4.1 Method

4.1.1 Participants and Design

Participants were 120 undergraduate students (38 male, 79 female, 3 unspecified) at the University of Western Ontario. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 23 ($M = 18.44$, $SD = .88$). Of the 120 participants, 104 reported being born in Canada, 14 indicated they were non-Canadian born, and 2 did not respond to this item. Of those who were foreign born, 10 were international students, 4 were immigrants, and there were no refugees in the sample. Participants were tested in groups of 1-4 people. All participants received partial course credit in exchange for their participation.

Study 3 had a 2 (justice threat: high vs. low) by 2 (target: refugee vs. immigrant) design, with individual differences in BJW also included as a continuous predictor.

4.1.2 Materials and Procedure

Participants were recruited to participate in a study entitled "Two short studies: Processing Emotional Cues and Examining a Scholarship Program" (see Appendix N for Study 3 recruitment materials). The materials and procedure of Study 2 were replicated, with the exception of a few changes and additions.

First, a new threat manipulation was utilized. Participants read a news article that described a married Canadian couple who were involved in a hit and run accident while vacationing in the United States. Both severity of injuries and retribution were manipulated. In the high threat condition (see Appendix O), participants were told that the husband and wife had severe injuries and the suspect was never caught. The husband was described as having his legs amputated and the wife experienced head trauma and two broken legs. In the low threat condition (see Appendix P), participants were told that the husband and wife had minor injuries and the suspect was caught and expected to serve prison time. The husband was described as breaking one leg and the wife experienced bruising and minor head injuries.

Second, a vignette was adapted from Madut's original refugee story to reflect Madut as a family class immigrant (see Appendix Q). The immigrant vignette describes Madut as a young man whose father came to Canada for an employment opportunity. Madut decided to remain in Sudan to finish high school and now wishes to come to Canada to join his family. He is described as applying to the Student Immigrant Program to finance his education. The two vignettes were similar in word count. In order to maintain the cover story of a scholarship application, the scholarship was reworded in the immigrant condition to the Student Immigrant Program (see Appendix R). Accompanying the scholarship information was general information on family class immigrants.

Additionally, with the inclusion of an immigrant condition, the Struch and Schwartz (1989) prosocial value measure was modified to reflect this change. As in Study 2, in the refugee condition, participants were asked to rate how much they agree that refugees and Canadians uphold prosocial values. A dehumanization score was created by calculating an average score for refugee targets ($\alpha = .76$) and Canadian targets ($\alpha = .83$) and subtracting the average score for refugees from the average score for Canadians. A higher score indicated higher levels of dehumanization of refugees compared to Canadians. In the immigrant condition, participants were asked to rate how much they agreed that immigrants and Canadians uphold prosocial values (see Appendix S). A dehumanization score was created by calculating an average score for immigrants ($\alpha = .82$) and Canadians ($\alpha = .82$) and subtracting the average score for immigrants from

the average score for Canadians. Further, as in Study 2, dehumanization was also assessed by using an enemy barbarian measure ($\alpha = .82$) with higher scores indicating higher levels of dehumanization of Madut.

Two new questions were also added (see Appendix T). To determine the extent to which participants perceived Madut's situation as being fair, participants rated how fair they perceived Madut's situation was on a scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all fair*) to 7 (*Completely fair*). Then, to determine the extent to which participants perceived Madut's situation as avoidable, participants rated the extent to which they believed Madut could have avoided his situation on a scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Extremely*). Finally, participants' scores on the Global Belief in a Just World scale were taken from Mass Testing data collected during the previous semester. This differs from Studies 1 and 2 where participants completed the GBJW scale at the end of their testing session.⁴ This was the first time the GBJW was available for sufficient numbers of participants through the Mass Testing data collection, and was independent from the current study. The independent variables were effect coded as follows: low threat (-1), high threat (1), refugee (-1), and immigrant (1).

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Refugee Condition

To first test whether the effects in Study 3 paralleled Studies 1 and 2, only the refugee condition was analyzed. To test the hypotheses, a series of simultaneous multiple regression analyses were conducted for each dependent measure as an outcome variable and continuous scores on GBJW, threat condition (high justice threat vs. low justice threat), and the interactions between threat condition and centered GBJW scores entered as predictors. Separate models were run for each dependent measure. Means, standard deviations, and psychometric properties of the measures in Study 3 are presented in Table 5 (refugee condition only). The correlations between the measures used in Study 3 are reported in Table 6 (refugee condition only).

⁴ In Studies 1 and 2, GBJW was measured post-manipulation. Auxiliary analyses indicated that GBJW scores in Studies 1 and 2 were not altered by the experimental manipulations.

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Measures in Study 3 - Refugee Condition only

Measure	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Cronbach's alpha
Global Belief in Just World	3.61	1.38	0.87
Responsibility	1.48	1.24	
Acceptance	6.34	0.92	
Compensation	29825	27355	
Fairness of situation	1.29	0.59	
Ability to avoid situation	1.62	0.87	
Enemy Barbarian Image (Dehumanization)	1.98	0.88	0.76
Prosocial Values (Dehumanization)	0.94	1.15	0.81

Note: The possible range is 1-7 for all measures except Compensation (open ended) and Prosocial Values (Dehumanization) which is 0-7

Table 6

Correlations Between Study 3 - Refugee Condition Only Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. GBJW	-							
2. Responsibility	.15	-						
3. Acceptance	.01	.07	-					
4. Compensation	-.32**	-.23	.05	-				
5. Enemy Barbarian Image	.25	.48**	.15	-.10	-			
6. Prosocial Values	.31*	-.07	-.07	-.10	.15	-		
7. Fairness	.11	.43**	-.12	-.21	.43**	.10	-	
8. Ability to Avoid	.15	.52**	-.24	-.26*	.48**	.15	.39**	-

Note . ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

4.2.1.1 Responsibility

There were no significant main effects or interactions that predicted responsibility, $ps > .24$. Thus, neither threat nor belief in a just world significantly predicted whether participants indicated Madut was responsible for his situation.

4.2.1.2 Acceptance into the Student Refugee Program

There were no significant effects (main effects or interactions) of justice threat and belief in a just world on participant's decision to recommend Madut be accepted into the Student Refugee program, $ps > .50$. Thus, neither threat nor belief in a just world significantly predicted whether participants indicated Madut should be compensated through admittance into the Student Refugee Program.

4.2.1.3 Monetary Compensation

For the monetary compensation variable, there were no significant effects (main effects or interactions) of justice threat and belief in a just world on participants' decision to monetarily compensate Madut, $ps > .18$. Thus, neither threat nor belief in a just world significantly predicted the amount of scholarship funding participants provided Madut.

4.2.1.4 Dehumanization - Madut

A significant main effect emerged for belief in a just world, $\beta = .61$, $t(55) = 3.07$, $p < .01$. Stronger believers in a just world were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut ($M = 2.38$) than weaker believers ($M = 1.29$). Also, a significant threat \times belief in a just world 2-way interaction emerged, $\beta = -.49$, $t(55) = -2.40$, $p = .02$. Analysis of simple slopes revealed that in the low threat condition, participants who were stronger believers in a just world were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut ($M = 2.78$) than weaker believers ($M = .83$), $\beta = 1.10$, $t(55) = 2.90$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 4). In the high threat condition, stronger and weaker believers did not differ, $\beta = .13$, $t(55) = 1.02$, $p = .31$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted this form of dehumanization, $ps > .82$.

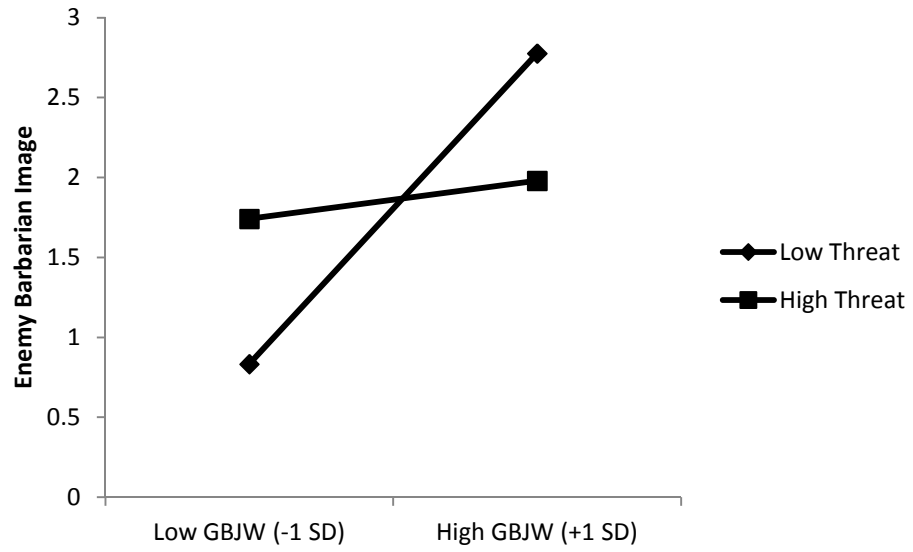


Figure 4. Mean dehumanization of Madut using an enemy barbarian image (out of 7) by stronger and weaker believers in a just world in the low and high threat condition.

4.2.1.5 Dehumanization - Refugees

There were no significant effects (main effects or interactions) of justice threat and belief in a just world on the extent to which refugees are dehumanized through perceiving them as not upholding prosocial values, $ps > .27$.

4.2.1.6 Fairness of Madut's Situation

A significant main effect emerged for belief in a just world $\beta = .62$, $t(54) = 3.07$, $p < .01$. Stronger believers in a just world were more likely to view Madut's situation as fair ($M = 1.55$) than were weaker believers ($M = .83$). Also, a significant belief in a just world \times threat 2-way interaction emerged, $\beta = -.66$, $t(53) = -3.22$, $p < .01$. Analysis of simple slopes revealed that in the low threat condition, participants who were stronger believers in a just world were more likely to rate Madut's situation as fair ($M = 1.55$) than weaker believers ($M = .83$) $\beta = 1.26$, $t(54) = 3.32$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 5). In the high threat condition, stronger and weaker believers did not differ, $\beta = -.03$, $t(54) = -.23$, $p = .82$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted fairness of Madut's situation, $ps > .61$.

4.2.1.7 Ability to Avoid Situation

A significant main effect emerged for belief in a just world, $\beta = .48$, $t(55) = 2.30$, $p = .03$. Stronger believers in a just world were more likely to view Madut's situation as avoidable ($M = 1.89$) than weaker believers ($M = 1.08$). Also, a significant threat \times belief in a just world 2-way interaction emerged, $\beta = -.47$, $t(55) = -2.21$, $p = .03$ (see Figure 6). Analysis of simple slopes revealed that in the low threat condition, participants who were stronger believers in a just world were more likely to believe Madut's situation could have been avoided ($M = 2.25$) than weaker believers ($M = .66$) $\beta = .93$, $t(55) = 2.40$, $p = .02$. In the high threat condition, stronger and weaker believers did not differ, $\beta = .02$, $t(55) = .14$, $p = .89$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted perceptions of Madut's ability to avoid his current situation, $ps > .82$.

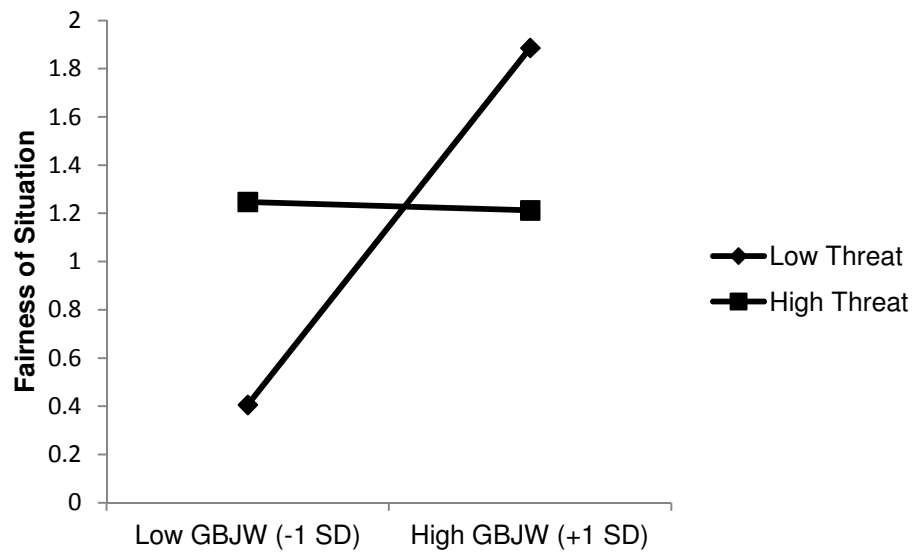


Figure 5. Mean fairness of Madut's situation (out of 7) assigned by stronger and weaker believers in a just world in the low and high threat condition.

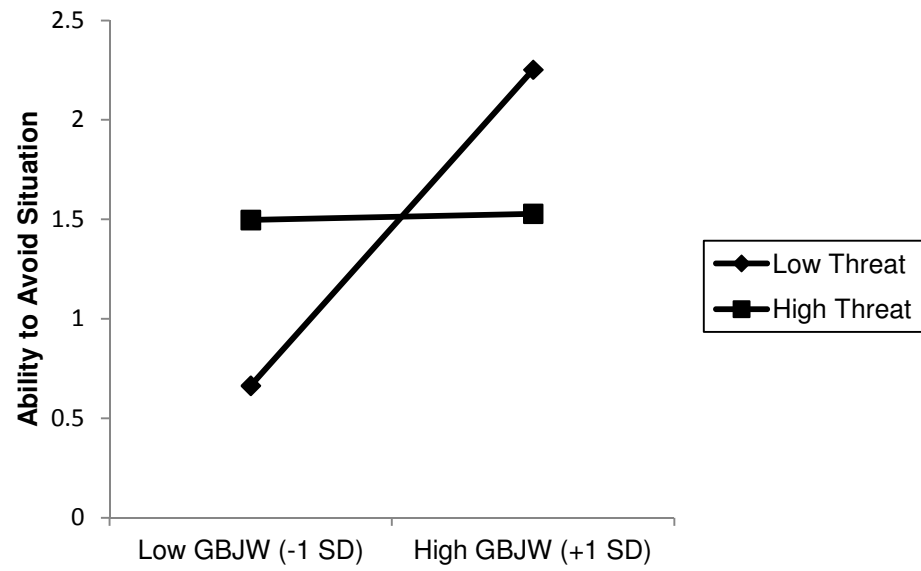


Figure 6. Mean ability of Madut to avoid his situation (out of 7) assigned by stronger and weaker believers in a just world in the low and high threat condition.

4.2.1.8 Summary

In sum, the refugee condition in Study 3 was similar to the findings of Study 2. Specifically, stronger believers in a just world dehumanized Madut more than weaker believers. Surprisingly, this was only the case in the low threat condition. Further, stronger believers in a just world viewed Madut's situation as fairer and more avoidable than did weaker believers. Again, this was only the case in the low threat condition. Although there were no significant findings for the responsibility measure, perceived fairness and ability to avoid a bad situation can be viewed as extensions of responsibility. As such, these measures were highly correlated with responsibility (see Table 6). There were also no significant findings for the acceptance and compensation measures. As mentioned previously, a new threat manipulation was created for Study 3. It is possible that, by describing the victims in the high threat condition as suffering quite severe injuries, it was viewed as too extreme. The victims in the low threat condition vignette were also described as having moderately severe injuries (e.g., broken legs and head trauma) and this may have elicited some degree of threat.

4.2.2 Full Analyses

Means, standard deviations, and psychometric properties of the dependent measures in Study 3 are presented in Table 7. The correlations between the measures used in Study 3 are reported in Table 8.

To test the hypotheses for the full model including refugee and immigrant targets, a series of simultaneous multiple regression analyses were conducted for each dependent measure as an outcome variable and continuous scores on GBJW, target (refugee vs. immigrant), threat condition (high justice threat vs. low justice threat), and the interactions between threat condition, target, and centered GBJW scores entered as predictors. Separate models were run for each dependent measure.

4.2.2.1 Responsibility

Three participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations above the mean and were excluded from these analyses. No participants were identified as scoring three standard deviations below the mean. A significant main effect emerged for target, $\beta = .69$, $t(107) = 10.01$, $p < .001$. Participants were more likely to assign responsibility to

Table 7

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability of the measures in Study 3

Measure	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Cronbach's alpha
Global Belief in Just World	3.20	0.99	0.88
Responsibility	2.70	1.90	
Acceptance	5.90	1.06	
Compensation	20453.40	23008.80	
Fairness of situation	2.77	1.80	
Ability to avoid situation	2.87		
Enemy Barbarian Image (Dehumanization)	2.22	1.0	0.82
Prosocial Values (Dehumanization)	0.86	1.15	0.84

Note: The possible range is 1-7 for all measures except Compensation (open ended) and Prosocial Values (Dehumanization) which is 0-7

Table 8

Correlations Between Study 3 Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. GBJW	-							
2. Responsibility	-.02	-						
3. Acceptance	.13	-.30**	-					
	-.13							
4. Compensation		-.36**	.24*	-				
5. Enemy Barbarian Image	.14	.43**	-.11	-.18	-			
6. Prosocial Values	.27**	-.15	-.05	-.05	.13	-		
7. Fairness	-.11	.75**	-.41	-.42**	.33**	-.03	-	
8. Ability to Avoid	-.13	.72**	-.39*	-.35**	-.38**	-.09	.65**	-

Note. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Madut when they believed he was an immigrant ($M = 3.83$) than when told he was a refugee ($M = 1.32$). In addition, although not predicted, a significant target \times belief in a just world \times threat 3-way interaction emerged, $\beta = -.24$, $t(107) = -2.30$, $p = .02$. Analysis of simple slopes revealed that in the low threat condition stronger believers assigned more responsibility ($M = 4.40$) than weaker believers ($M = 3.76$) to the immigrant, $\beta = .29$, $t(107) = 2.79$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 7) but in the high threat condition stronger believers assigned less responsibility ($M = 3.22$) than weaker believers ($M = 3.94$) to the immigrant, $\beta = -.31$, $t(107) = -1.76$, $p = .08$ (see Figure 7). In the refugee condition, stronger and weaker believers did not differ regardless of low or high threat, $\beta = -.31$, $t(107) = -.88$, $p = .38$ and $\beta = .06$, $t(107) = .61$, $p = .54$, respectively. This 3-way interaction suggests that in the low threat condition stronger believers who viewed an immigrant indicated he was more responsible than weaker believers. Further, in the high threat condition stronger believers who read about an immigrant assigned less responsibility than weaker believers. It is important to note that although this pattern is interesting, this 3-way interaction was not predicted. There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted responsibility, $ps > .16$.

4.2.2.2 Acceptance into the Student Refugee Program

A significant main effect emerged for target, $\beta = -.43$, $t(109) = -4.32$, $p < .001$. Participants were more likely to accept Madut into the program when they believed he was a refugee ($M = 6.36$) than when told he was an immigrant ($M = 5.46$). There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted acceptance, $ps > .67$.

4.2.2.3 Monetary Compensation

For the monetary compensation variable, a main effect emerged, such that target significantly predicted the amount of scholarship money participants gave to Madut, $\beta = -.49$, $t(105) = -5.30$, $p < .001$. Participants awarded a larger scholarship ($M = 25,849.22$) to the refugee than the immigrant ($M = 9,421.06$). There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted monetary compensation, $ps > .10$.

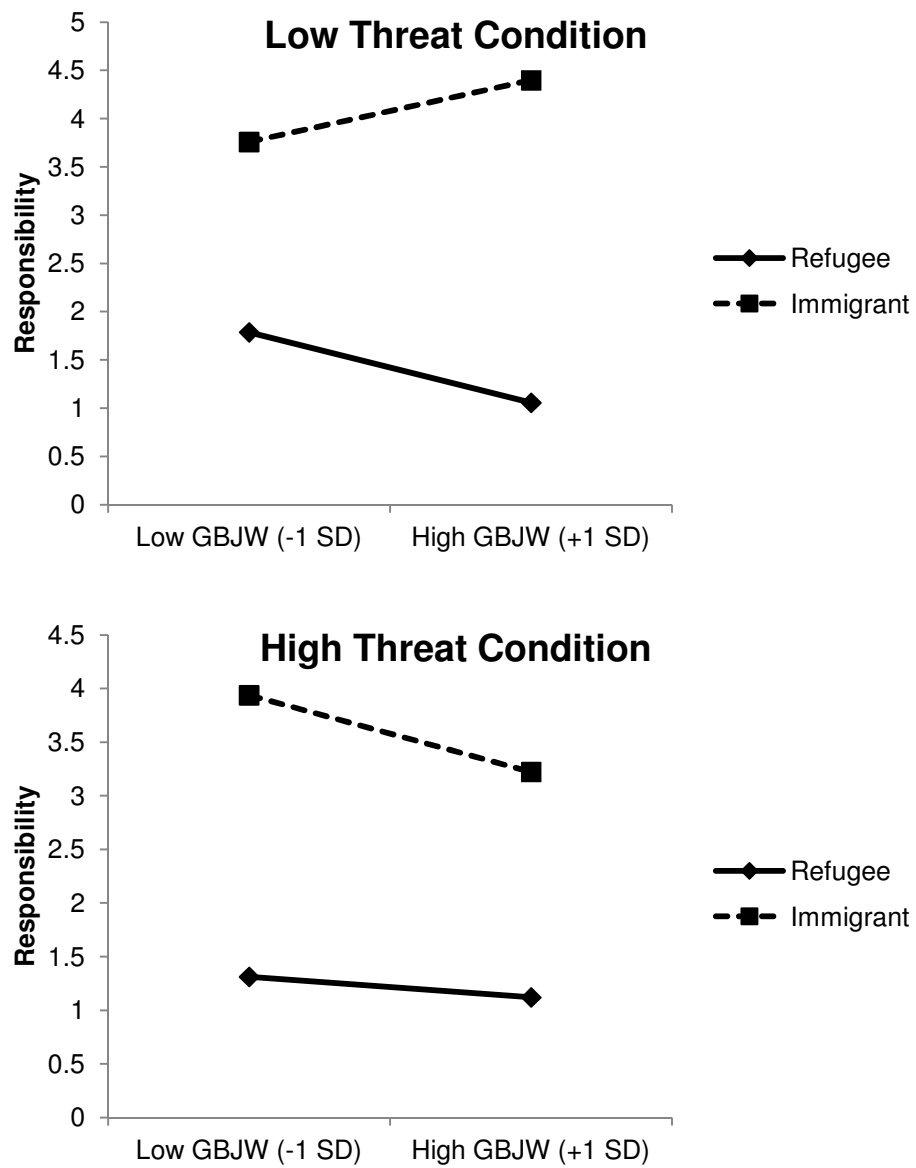


Figure 7. Mean responsibility (out of 7) assigned by stronger and weaker believers in a just world depending on target type in the low and high threat condition.

4.2.2.4 Dehumanization - Madut

A significant main effect emerged for target, $\beta = .33$, $t(109) = 3.36$, $p < .001$. Participants who read a vignette describing Madut as an immigrant were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut ($M = 2.51$) than participants who were told that Madut was a refugee ($M = 1.83$). A main effect of belief in a just world also emerged, $\beta = .34$, $t(109) = 2.79$, $p < .01$. Participants who were stronger believers in a just world were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut ($M = 2.52$) than were weaker believers ($M = 1.81$). Also, a significant belief in a just world \times threat 2-way interaction emerged, $\beta = -.25$, $t(109) = -2.00$, $p = .05$. Analysis of simple slopes revealed that in the low threat condition, participants who were stronger believers ($M = 2.74$) in a just world were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut than weaker believers ($M = 1.51$), $\beta = .61$, $t(112) = 2.93$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 8). In the high threat condition, stronger and weaker believers did not differ, $\beta = .10$, $t(112) = .72$, $p = .47$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted this form of dehumanization, $ps > .13$.

4.2.2.5 Dehumanization - Refugees

There were no significant effects (main effects or interactions) of justice threat, target type, and belief in a just world on the extent to which refugees/immigrants are dehumanized through perceiving them as not upholding prosocial values, $ps > .17$. Thus, neither threat, target type, nor belief in a just world significantly predicted whether participants were likely to dehumanize refugees through denial of prosocial values.

4.2.2.6 Fairness of Madut's Situation

A significant main effect emerged for target $\beta = .80$, $t(109) = 13.16$, $p < .001$. Participants were more likely to view Madut's situation as fair when he was an immigrant ($M = 4.08$) than when told he was a refugee ($M = 1.19$). Also, a significant threat \times belief in a just world 2-way interaction emerged, $\beta = -.21$, $t(109) = -2.67$, $p < .01$. Analysis of simple slopes revealed that in the low threat condition participants who were stronger believers ($M = 3.29$) in a just world were more likely view Madut's situation as fair than weaker believers ($M = 2.24$), $\beta = .29$, $t(111) = 2.23$, $p = .03$ (see Figure 9). In the high threat condition, stronger and weaker believers did not differ, $\beta = -.07$, $t(111) = -.82$,

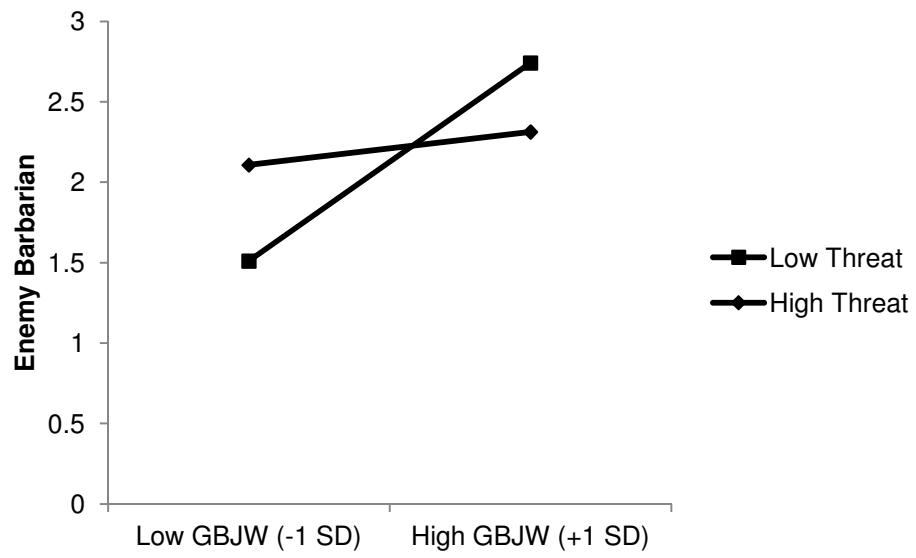


Figure 8. Mean dehumanization of Madut using the enemy barbarian image (out of 7) by stronger and weaker believers in a just world in the low and high threat condition.

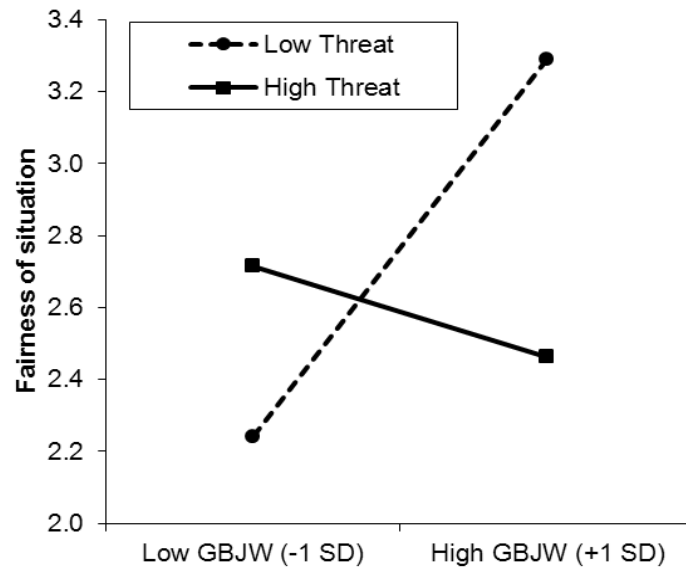


Figure 9. Mean fairness of Madut's situation (out of 7) assigned by stronger and weaker believers in a just world in the low and high threat condition.

$p = .42$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted perceived fairness of Madut's situation, $ps > .11$.

4.2.2.7 Ability to Avoid Situation

A significant main effect emerged for target, $\beta = .71$, $t(109) = 9.49$, $p < .001$.

Participants were more likely to view Madut's situation as avoidable when he was an immigrant ($M = 4.09$) than when told he was a refugee ($M = 1.49$). There were no other significant main effects or interactions that predicted Madut's ability to avoid his current situation, $ps > .41$.

4.3 Discussion

Studies 1 and 2 focused on the relation between justice beliefs and reactions to refugees. Study 3 sought to explore the relation between justice beliefs and reactions to newcomers when the social target group was manipulated to include either refugees or immigrants. First, to see if the results from Studies 1 and 2 replicated in Study 3, the refugee only condition was examined. In the refugee condition, as in Study 2, stronger believers in a just world were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut than weaker believers; however, this main effect was qualified by an interaction with threat. In the low threat condition, stronger believers were more likely to indicate his situation was fair and reported that Madut could have avoided his situation than weaker believers. This suggests that under low threat, stronger believers in a just world perceived the refugee's situation as more fair. This finding fits into the overall framework of the belief in a just world literature, such that stronger believers in a just world see the world as a fair and just place (Lerner, 1970). The results on the enemy barbarian, fairness, and ability to avoid situation measures are relative to the current sample and means on this measure for participants were well below the midpoint of the scale.

Esses et al. (2013) have examined the dehumanization of both immigrants and refugees, and have suggested media portrayals of refugees tend to be more negative (e.g., portrayed in an animalistic fashion). In the current study, contrary to tentative predictions, there was an overall powerful main effect on almost all dependent measures,

such that participants who were led to believe that Madut was a refugee were more likely to respond to Madut favorably and sympathetically when compared to those who perceived him as an immigrant. In general, stronger believers in a just world were more negative toward both immigrants and refugees than were weaker believers. However, it is possible that the refugee condition did not activate an abstract prototype of a refugee (e.g., a “bogus queue jumper”). This is optimistic because when compared to immigrants, the refugee was treated more favorably.

The additional questions that were included in this study may shed some light on these findings. Participants in the immigrant condition were more likely to believe Madut could have avoided his situation and that his situation was fairer than participants in the refugee condition. It is important to note that participants in the immigrant condition scored above the midpoint of the scale on these items. It is possible that these findings are rooted in the dichotomy between economic migrants and genuine refugees, which stems from the assumption that immigrants are voluntary migrants and refugees are not. Participants were more likely to perceive Madut as more responsible for his status when they believed he was an immigrant than when he was a refugee. In fact, participants in the immigrant condition assigned scores higher than the midpoint on the responsibility measure. Further, participants in the immigrant condition also viewed his situation as more avoidable and fairer. It is possible that to the extent that participants viewed the immigrant as a voluntary migrant who was freely choosing to come to Canada, they also viewed him as being more responsible for his situation. This finding also suggests that participants in the refugee condition may have perceived him as an innocent victim who was in an unavoidable situation. It is also important to note that results on the responsibility measure did not differ based on the individual difference in belief in a just world.

In regard to acceptance into the scholarship program, participants who were in the refugee condition were more likely to report that Madut should be accepted than those who were in the immigrant condition. Although participants in the immigrant and refugee condition differ significantly from one another, participants in both groups scored well above the midpoint on the acceptance measure. This suggests that perhaps all

participants, regardless of condition, were likely to view Madut as deserving entrance into the program.

Further, participants who were in the refugee condition awarded Madut a larger scholarship than those in the immigrant condition. In fact, when Madut was a refugee, his scholarship was 1.5 times larger than when Madut was an immigrant. This suggests that participants were more generous and more favorable when they were in the refugee condition. One possible explanation is that participants in the immigrant condition may have believed Madut had more resources and options for securing funding, especially because his father was described as having a job in Canada. It is possible that participants who read about the plight of a refugee recognized his high need for financial assistance compared to those who read about a family class immigrant.

In regard to dehumanization, participants who viewed an immigrant were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut than were those who viewed him as a refugee. In other words, participants may have perceived Madut as being evil and ruthless when he was an immigrant but not when he was a refugee. The results on the enemy barbarian measure are relative to the current sample and means on this measure for participants in both conditions were well below the midpoint of the scale. It is important to note that although stronger believers in a just world were more likely to dehumanize Madut, participants did not perceive refugees as failing to uphold prosocial values compared to Canadians. In other words, stronger believers in a just world dehumanized Madut himself, but did not dehumanize refugees in general.

One possible explanation for this finding is that participants in the immigrant condition may have viewed Madut as an economic threat. For instance, Madut's father had already immigrated to Canada for employment and upon completing university Madut would presumably also be competing in the Canadian job market. In addition, Madut was also hoping to receive financial assistance, which may have posed another economic threat. In this sense, it is possible that the immigrant may have been seen as more of a threat than the refugee.

Finally, it is important to discuss the significant effects of the justice threat manipulation, such that in the low threat condition stronger believers in a just world responded more negatively than weak believers. There were no differences between

stronger and weaker believers in the high threat condition. A new threat manipulation was created for Study 3. It is possible that the high threat condition was viewed as too extreme and that the low threat condition still elicited some degree of threat. Similar to the fear appeal literature, when a message is too severe or extreme, participants may be motivated to avoid the message (Milne, Sheeran, & Orbell, 2000). In this sense, it is quite possible that participants in the high threat condition avoided the extremely threatening message, and the low threat condition ended up being the stronger manipulation. This threat manipulation, although loosely based on Hafer (2000b), had not been used before. It is also quite possible that the powerful main effect of target type was so robust that it eliminated any effects of individual differences. Further, Study 3 differed from Studies 1 and 2 in two distinct ways: the use of a new threat manipulation and examining two distinct groups of newcomers. It is possible that these changes also can account for seemingly disparate results regarding threat and belief in a just world. See Table 9 for a full comparison of results across all three studies.

Chapter 5

5 General Discussion

The primary goals of the present research were to determine if individuals can restore threats to just world beliefs by dehumanizing refugees, to examine the multiple strategies people may use to cope with just world threats, and to apply just world theory to a new target group to attempt to understand the growing resistance to refugees in Canada. Several interesting findings emerged from the current series of studies (see Table 9).

First, it is important to discuss whether or not individuals used dehumanization as a means to restore just world beliefs in response to threat. Stronger believers (compared to weaker believers) in Studies 2 and 3 and those in the immigrant condition in Study 3 were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut⁵. The justice threat manipulations were generally ineffective, so it is difficult to draw a clear link between justice threat and participants' responses to victims. Nonetheless, given that stronger believers in a just world were more likely than weaker believers to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut, it is possible that dehumanization may help stronger believers preserve their belief in a just world. It is possible that stronger believers dehumanized refugees to maintain a just world, such that those who live in subhuman conditions are less human. It is important to highlight the value of the individual difference variable. Stronger believers are more likely to view the world as a just and fair place and as a result are more likely to believe that victims deserve their misfortune (Haynes & Olson, 2006). Across a variety of situations, stronger believers are more likely to view victims as more responsible for their fate. For instance, as mentioned previously, Kleinke and Meyer (1990) found that stronger believers were more likely to view a rape victim as responsible for her rape compared to weaker believers. In this sense, stronger believers in a just world are more likely to engage in secondary victimization than are weaker believers (Aguiar, Vala, & Correia, 2008). It is

⁵ These findings represent relative differences and the means tended to fall on the side of the midpoint that represented more favorable reactions.

Table 9
Summary of findings in Studies 1-3

Study	Responsibility	Acceptance	Monetary Compensation	Dehumanization - Madut	Dehumanization - Refugees	Fairness	Avoid Situation
1	Refugee Type BJW BJW X Refugee Type	Threat	BJW	NA	NA	NA	NA
2	BJW X Funding Source	None	BJW X Funding Source	BJW	None	NA	NA
3 Refugee Only	None	None	None	BJW BJW X Threat	None	BJW BJW X Threat	BJW BJW X Threat
3 Full Analysis	Target BJW X Threat X Target	Target	Target	Target BJW BJW X Threat	None	Target BJW X Threat	Target

important to discuss what it means to be a stronger believer in a just world within the context of the present series of studies. When faced with an immigrant or refugee, regardless of being under high or low manipulated threat, stronger believers in a just world dehumanized more than weaker believers. This suggests that individuals who are especially likely to view the world as a just place acted in ways to restore their belief that bad things happen to bad people. This was especially evident when stronger believers in a just world also rated Madut's situation as more fair and avoidable. In this sense, it is possible that they are motivated to protect their belief that they themselves would not face similar circumstances. This is in line with Lerner and Miller (1978), who suggest that believing in a just world serves an adaptive function.

It is also important to note that in Study 1, stronger believers in a just world were more likely to both perceive Madut as responsible for his refugee status and monetarily compensate Madut. This is not entirely inconsistent with previous research (see Haynes & Olson 2006). It is possible that participants' just world beliefs could not entirely be protected through perceiving Madut as more responsible for his refugee status, and compensating Madut provided them with a way to restore justice.

What about the second goal of the studies? Did participants use multiple strategies to cope with justice threats? It is difficult to determine whether multiple strategies were used to cope with justice threats because the justice threat manipulations were generally ineffective. Regardless, participants did react to refugees and immigrants in various ways. Study 1 examined whether refugee type and threats to participants' just world beliefs would influence how they attributed responsibility to the refugee and how much they were willing to compensate him. When Madut was labeled a political refugee, he was perceived as more responsible for his refugee status, especially by stronger believers in a just world. In the high threat condition, participants were more likely to accept Madut into the Student Refugee program, and those who were stronger believers provided Madut a scholarship approximately \$7,000 larger than weaker believers.

In Study 2, the funding source was manipulated to determine whether making it more or less relevant to the participant would change the way participants viewed the refugee. The results suggested that stronger believers who believed Madut would receive an external scholarship were more likely to assign responsibility than when told he

would receive a university funded scholarship. In Study 2, stronger believers in the external funding condition provided Madut with approximately \$13,000 less in scholarship funding. Study 2 also introduced the concept of dehumanization as a way to restore threats to belief in a just world. Stronger believers in a just world were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut than were weaker believers.

Study 3 examined whether these effects would replicate, and whether or not they were unique to refugees or would also apply to immigrants. When examining the refugee condition only, participants who were stronger believers in a just world dehumanized Madut more than weaker believers. Stronger believers in a just world were also more likely to see his situation as fair and avoidable. When looking at the full analyses, participants who viewed Madut as an immigrant were more likely to assign responsibility, less likely to accept him into the program, provided approximately \$16,000 less in scholarship funding, and were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize him than participants who viewed Madut as a refugee. Stronger believers in a just world were also more likely to dehumanize Madut as an immigrant or refugee using an enemy barbarian image. In sum, stronger believers in a just world engaged in multiple strategies to maintain a belief in a just world. Specifically, stronger believers perceived Madut as more responsible for his situation and also dehumanized him more than weaker believers. Also, in Study 1 stronger believers awarded Madut a larger scholarship. However, in Study 2 stronger believers who were told the scholarship was coming from an external source awarded him less in scholarship funding than weaker believers. This suggests that, perhaps, stronger believers were more threatened when Madut would be awarded a more prestigious scholarship, and thus opted to respond more negatively toward him.

Lastly, do these results shed light on the negative treatment of refugees? Overall, stronger believers in a just world were more likely to dehumanize a refugee or immigrant than weaker believers. This was a consistent finding across Studies 2 and 3. Although in general stronger believers responded more negatively to a refugee and immigrant than weaker believers, this was not universally true. For example, stronger believers engaged in prosocial behavior in Study 1 by providing a larger scholarship than weaker believers.

Although in Study 1 there was a main effect of GBJW, there was an interesting interaction in Study 2, such that stronger believers who believed funding would come from a private source provided a smaller scholarship. This may be due to the funding manipulation used. It is possible that external scholarships were viewed as special and associated with prestige. In this context, participants may not have believed Madut deserved a special scholarship but perhaps did deserve a standard university scholarship.

It is also possible that participants took into account situational factors when responding to Madut. For example, in Study 3, participants were more likely to view the immigrant's situation as fair and avoidable than the refugee's situation. In this sense, participants were more likely to recognize the unfairness of the plight of refugees and, thus, responded more positively than when Madut was an immigrant (Hafer & Bègue, 2005).

The findings that indicated more negative perceptions of an immigrant than a refugee could be viewed within the context of the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses et al., 2005). This model suggests that when an in-group perceives competition with an out-group (whether or not this competition is real), the in-group will engage in strategies to attempt to remove the competition. For instance, Esses, Jackson, Nolan, and Armstrong (1999) found that participants who believed they were in competition with immigrants for resources expressed less favorable attitudes toward immigrants and were less likely to support immigration policy. In the context of Study 3, it is possible that participants viewed the immigrant as a competitive threat. For example, Madut's father had already found employment in Canada and now Madut wanted to receive a scholarship to attend a Canadian university. Participants may have felt that Madut and his family were taking resources (e.g., jobs and scholarship money) away from other Canadians. As a result, this perception may have led to an attempt to remove the immigrant as a source of competition by derogating, dehumanizing, and being less likely to offer help.

It is important to mention that, overall, participants tended to respond on the more favorable side of the midpoint on all dependent measures when Madut was a refugee. This suggests that although there were relative differences between stronger and weaker believers in a just world, Madut was not completely derogated. Past research has

demonstrated that after using dehumanizing language to describe a refugee, he is viewed more negatively and dehumanized by participants (Esses et al., 2013). It is possible that in the current research, by presenting individualizing information about Madut and avoiding dehumanizing language to describe him, reactions toward him were more positive.

5.1 Implications for Dehumanization Literature

For both theoretical and practical reasons, it is important to examine perceptions of refugees and factors that lead to their dehumanization. The present study is the first to link individual differences in belief in a just world and dehumanization of refugees and immigrants. Studies 2 and 3 demonstrated that stronger believers in a just world were more likely to use an enemy barbarian image to dehumanize Madut as a refugee or immigrant than weaker believers. As mentioned previously, Esses et al. (2011) stated that higher status groups (e.g., Canadians) might use dehumanization as a means to justify the fate of refugees. That is, higher status individuals might justify the negative outcomes refugees face by perceiving them as not entirely part of the human in-group, thereby denying them full humanness. The present study found some support for this notion, such that Canadian citizens (e.g., higher status group) who were stronger believers in a just world perceived a refugee or immigrant as less part of the human in-group. In this sense, it is easier to believe Madut deserved his fate. In the case of Study 3, it is also possible that the dehumanization of the immigrant was used as a way to justify excluding him from obtaining Canadian resources (e.g., scholarship funding).

5.2 Limitations

As previously discussed, the justice threat manipulations did not seem to have their intended effects. There are a few reasons why the justice threat manipulations may not have been effective. First, in all studies, the refugee vignette was emotionally engaging. As such, it is possible that simply reading about Madut's journey as a refugee was enough to induce threat in stronger believers, so that the high threat manipulation did not contribute any additional threat to their belief in a just world. It is also possible that, in general, stronger believers have a lower threshold for threat. This would explain why stronger believers in a just world responded in the predicted direction, such that the

refugee vignette was enough to threaten belief in a just world, and the justice threat manipulation did not create additional threat beyond this.

In Study 3, the high threat condition may have been too extreme, manipulating both severity of injuries and retribution (e.g., whether or not the suspect was caught), and participants may have been motivated to avoid the information. In line with the fear appeal literature (Milne et al., 2000), reading about victims who either lost both of their legs or had severe brain injuries, in addition to the perpetrator never being caught, may have been a too fearful and extreme portrayal. Participants may have been motivated to avoid this threatening message. Future research should consider independently manipulating either severity or retribution.

5.3 Future Directions

The present series of studies was the first to examine the dehumanization of refugees within the context of just world theory. Future research should continue to explore this link to shed light on reasons why having a stronger belief in a just world may lead to the dehumanization of refugees. What other types of threat may influence stronger believers' reactions to refugees, if any? It would be interesting to examine more directly the role of economic threat, realistic threat, and symbolic threat to see if stronger believers are influenced by other types of threat.

One goal of the present study was to extend just-world research to a new target group: refugees. In line with the suggestion by Hafer and Bègue (2005), it is important for just-world researchers to continue examining new types of victims in various situations because different types of people are victimized in different ways. It is also important to look at other dependent variables that may influence reactions to victims. For instance, sympathy for the victim, evaluation of character, different forms of compensation, and reactions to "bad people" being rewarded are important avenues to explore. To this extent, it would be interesting to see if stronger believers in a just world react even more negatively towards "bad people", such as rapists and murderers, who have received some sort of reward. It would also be informative to observe reactions to victims in a naturalistic setting. In this way, ways in which people attempt to decrease justice threat in everyday life could be further examined.

Future research should also attempt to include a qualitative component in the experimental design. It would be interesting to ask participants what they think of when they think of refugees and immigrants. It is possible that the refugee or immigrant prototype people hold might influence how they respond to refugees and immigrants. Further, it would be interesting to know who specifically participants are picturing when they think of refugees and immigrants. Are they picturing African refugees in desolate camps and non-Western immigrants? Or are they thinking of Roma refugees and British immigrants? These differing schemas may help inform research on refugees and immigrants.

At a practical level, continuing to explore the dehumanization of refugees can potentially contribute to the growing literature on media portrayals of refugees and immigrants. It would be useful for researchers to examine the effects of a humanizing versus dehumanizing vignette. For instance, Esses et al. (2013) found that negative media portrayals of refugees and immigrants led to contempt, dehumanization, and negative attitudes toward these groups. Specifically, Esses and colleagues asked participants to read either a real editorial from a Canadian newspaper that depicted refugees as immoral queue jumpers or a neutral article. Those who read the real editorial were more likely to express contempt for refugees and to report more negative attitudes toward Canadian refugee policies. This line of work is important to understand the growing hostility towards refugees, but examining humanizing portrayals would also significantly contribute to the literature. Sowards and Pineda (2013) suggest that if the media have positive and humanizing narratives of immigrants and refugees, these representations may invoke sympathy. These narratives might also create empathetic portrayals of the immigrant and refugee experience and, in turn, lead to more positive attitudes toward these groups. Thus, experimentally manipulating the type of vignette participants view could potentially help inform the narrative surrounding refugees in the media.

5.4 Conclusion

To summarize, the findings of the present research suggest that individuals differ in the way in which they respond to refugees and immigrants based on the extent to which they believe the world is a just place. In particular, stronger believers in a just

world tended to use negative strategies to affirm their just world beliefs, such as dehumanization, compared to weaker believers. Further, after viewing an individualizing portrayal of a refugee, participants treated him more positively than those who read a depiction of an immigrant. Such findings are important because they suggest that it might be possible to shift the narrative surrounding the arrival of refugees to immigrant receiving nations and, in turn, result in more favorable reactions to refugees.

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Appendix A: Materials for Study One

Letter of Information

Project Title: Two short studies: Processing emotional cues and the Student Refugee Program

Principal Investigators: A. DeVaul-Fetters, J. Olson, V. Esses

This research involves completing two questionnaires about your opinions and attitudes, and reviewing a short video presentation of a young woman discussing her emotionally trying experiences living with HIV. You will be asked to complete questions about yourself, the young woman from the video (including your perceptions of her emotional expressions and experiences), and more general questions about her situation. Since this experiment takes less than 30 minutes to complete, you will also complete another study on the Student Refugee Program. In this study, you will learn about the Student Refugee Program and read background information concerning a current applicant to the program. Finally, you will be asked to respond to a few questions about the applicant, as well as some general questions about yourself. These experiments will take less than 60 minutes to complete, and you will receive one (1) research credit in return for your participation.

There are no known physical or psychological risks associated with participating in this study. However, since we're interested in people's perceptions of others' emotional states and expressions, this video is deliberately intended to be mildly, but temporarily, emotionally engaging. You are free to leave blank any questions that you do not wish to answer, and you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of credit. All of the data that you provide will be kept confidential and used for research purposes only.

At the end of this session you will receive written feedback outlining the purpose and hypotheses of this study, and will be provided the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

If you have questions about this research, and/or if you want to obtain copies of the results of this research upon its completion, please contact Amanda DeVaul-Fetters, Dr. James Olson or Dr. Victoria Esses. These results may be published in professional journals of psychological research.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Director at the Office of Research Ethics, The University of Western Ontario.

Research Consent Form

Project Title: Two short studies: Processing emotional cues and the Student Refugee Program

Principal Investigators: A. DeVaul-Fetters, J. Olson, V. Esses

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate in this study. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name of participant

Date

Signature of participant

Name of researcher

Date

Signature of researcher

Debriefing Form

Project Title: Two short studies: Processing emotional cues and the Student Refugee Program

Principal Investigators: A. DeVaul-Fetters, J. Olson, V. Esses

Dear Research Participant:

Thank-you for participating in our study. In this study, we had you view the video presentation of Kerry. Then, we asked you to read about the Student Refugee Program and respond to questions regarding Madut, a young refugee.

Lerner's (1980) just world theory posits that people need to believe that the world is basically a just place where people generally get what they deserve. Presumably, blaming victims enables people to keep their belief in a just world intact, as a victim who is responsible for his or her plight poses less of a threat. Little research has examined the potential consequences of threats to just world beliefs and how we view different types of refugees.

Thus, in the present study, we had you view the video presentation of Kerry. In this study, some participants learn that Kerry was an innocent victim, that is, she contracted the virus when she received HIV-tainted blood during a blood transfusion following a car accident. On the other hand, other participants learn that Kerry was more blameworthy, that is, she contracted HIV when she had unprotected sex with a man she didn't know. Just world theory suggests that an innocent victim poses a greater threat to the belief in a just world and consequently a greater desire to manage the threat imposed.

As a part of a "different" study, we then had you read about the Student Refugee Program. Although this is an actual program and parts of Madut's story were real, his application to Western University was fictitious. As the foregoing discussion suggests, we expect that participants who were told that Kerry contracted HIV after having unprotected sex and read about a refugee who was persecuted based on his race would be more likely to accept him into Western, find him less responsible for his plight, and award him a larger scholarship than participants in the other conditions.

Finally, you completed a brief paper questionnaire that assessed your life-satisfaction. Crucially, we asked some people this question after they indicated a fun location for a date in their city, whereas other people did not report anything about date locations. We expect that answering the dating question will prime people to think more about their romantic life when answering the general life-satisfaction question, whereas other people will think about many aspects of their life when answering the general question, not just the romantic aspect.

We were not able to divulge all of this information prior to your participation, nor was this study concerned with assessing the processing of emotional cues as you were told at the outset. We were unable to tell you this information before you began because this it might have influenced your reactions to the questionnaires, and we needed to use a plausible rationale for having participants complete the study so as to limit the focus on link between the video presentation and the decision making task you completed. We need to investigate people's "natural" or "spontaneous" reactions to the suffering of innocent victims if we want to understand how things work in non-laboratory settings.

In closing, please be assured that all of your responses in this experiment will be treated as confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Your name will not be recorded on your questionnaire or associated with your answers. Again, thanks for participating in this study

Suggest Readings:

Hafer, C. L. & Begue, L. (2005). Experimental research on just world theory: Problems, developments, and future challenges. *Psychological Bulletin*, 131, 128-166.

Haynes, G. A., & Olson, J. M. (2006). Coping with threats to just world beliefs: Derogate, blame, or help? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36, 664-682.

Strack, F., Martin, L. M., & Schwarz, N. (1988). Priming and communication: Social determinants of information use in judgments of life satisfaction. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 18, 429-442.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you should contact the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

Sincerely,

Amanda DeVaul-Fetters, M.S.
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Psychology

Dr. Victoria Esses
Professor of Psychology
University of Western Ontario

Dr. James Olson
Professor of Psychology
University of Western Ontario

Appendix B: Bogus questionnaire - Emotions and Feelings of Others Scale (EFOS)

Instructions: Below you will find a series of statements about emotional cues and the feelings of others. Please read each statement carefully and respond to it by expressing the extent to which you believe the statements apply to you. For all items, a response from 1 to 7 is required. Use the number that best reflects your belief when the scale is defined as follows. Please circle the number that best corresponds to your answer.

- 1. I can usually tell when other people are upset even though they may not look upset.**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Disagree

Agree

- 2. I can usually tell when other people are happy even though they may not look happy.**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Disagree

Agree

- 3. I am pretty good at figuring out how other people are feeling.**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Disagree

Agree

- 4. While watching movies, I can usually emotionally relate to the actors and actresses.**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Disagree

Agree

5. I often find myself feeling the same way other people around me are feeling.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree						Agree

6. I can usually determine the “mood” of a room once I enter it.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree						Agree

7. I often find it easy to discuss with others how they are feeling.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree						Agree

Appendix C: Emotional Cues Questionnaire – Kerry Video

For this questionnaire we would like it if you took a brief moment to think about what it was you saw and learned about Kerry, as it will aid you in answering the following questions:

1. In the space provided, write a one or two word description of the emotion that best describes how Kerry feels in the video.

2. Of the following emotional expressions portrayed in the interview, which expression best describes how Kerry feels? (circle ONE):

Laughing	Smiling	Neutral	Tearful	Sobbing
----------	---------	---------	---------	---------

3. This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then write the appropriate answer next to that word using the spaces provided. Indicate to what extent you feel this way at this moment for each emotion. Use the following scale to record your answers:

1	2	3	4	5
Very slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Very much

_____ Distressed	_____ Guilty	_____ Ashamed
_____ Excited	_____ Scared	_____ Irritable
_____ Happy	_____ Angry	_____ Encouraged
_____ Upset	_____ Satisfied	_____ Sad
_____ Afraid	_____ Cheerful	_____ Joyous

- 3. In the space provided, please write down as specifically as you can what you remember about how Kerry contracted HIV.**

- 4. I feel that what happened to Kerry was:**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Moderately			Completely
Unfair			Unfair			Unfair

Appendix D: Student Refugee Program

Instructions: The University of Western Ontario needs your help deciding whether or not to accept Madut, a refugee from Sudan, into our Student Refugee Program. Below you will find information regarding refugees and the Student Refugee Program. Please read the information carefully.

What is a refugee?

Convention refugees are people who are outside their home country or the country where they normally live, and who are unwilling to return because of a well-founded fear of persecution based on:

- race
- religion
- political opinion
- nationality or
- membership in a particular social group, such as women or people of a particular sexual orientation.

World University Service of Canada (WUSC) Student Refugee Program (SRP)

For most refugees, there are few or no opportunities to continue post-secondary education. Since 1978, WUSC's Student Refugee Program (SRP) has helped address this shortage by enabling student refugees to pursue their studies at Canadian universities and colleges.

From countries of origin as diverse as Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Burma and Afghanistan, most have successfully completed their studies and are now active Canadian Citizens making valuable contributions to their communities. Others have returned to their home countries and are contributing as nation builders or active community members.

For 33 years, the Student Refugee Program has been helping young men and women in refugee camps resettle in Canada to attend university and college

61 universities and colleges have accepted sponsored students on their campus

1100+ students have been sponsored since 1978

2.5 million dollars are raised and/or leveraged by Canadian students every year in support of the SRP

750,000+ Canadians are more aware of refugee and immigrant issues resulting from the actions of students involved in the program

The Student Refugee Program (SRP) is a small resettlement program that provides opportunities for a limited number of refugees to continue their post-secondary studies in Canada. It is managed by World University Service of Canada (WUSC), a leading non-profit Canadian international development agency. The SRP is supported by WUSC Local Committees (made up of university and college students, staff and faculty) on campuses across Canada. Through its agreements with the Government of Canada and the Government of Québec (a Canadian province), WUSC enables students sponsored through the program to enter Canada as permanent residents.

Appendix E: Justice Threat Experimental Manipulation Protocol

[READ BY EXPERIMENTER]

“Thank-you. We have several videotapes we feel are emotionally engaging enough for people to sufficiently identify the various emotional cues portrayed within them. Of the videos we have, the particular video we’re working with in this project shows an interview with a young woman named Kerry who is HIV positive, which was taken from a larger video entitled People Like Us. People Like Us is a video involving a number of people discussing their various experiences living with HIV.

The original interview with Kerry is quite long, and since this session is only 60 minutes, we’re only going to be able to show you a few clips that we’ve pieced together from the larger interview. Since we’re not showing you the entire interview, I’d like to provide you with some extra information that Kerry provides at other points in the video so that you can better understand her situation.

In the beginning portions of the video, Kerry discusses her various experiences living with HIV shortly after she learned she contracted the virus. In a part of the interview that is not on the video, she says that while she hasn’t experienced any advanced symptoms of HIV, she has, at times, experienced headaches, tiredness, and flu-like symptoms. Kerry also describes how she has been having emotional difficulties that have disrupted her University studies. She talks about how, ever since she was diagnosed as having HIV, she’s been bothered by vague feelings of anxiety and depression. She has had difficulty concentrating on her studies at university and her academic performance has worsened over the year. She’s considering dropping out and giving up her hopes of

getting a degree. She also expresses some other, more general, concerns about her future as well.

High Justice Threat. Kerry also talks about how she contracted the virus in the first place. During the interview she describes how, during her commute home from university one evening, she was blindsided by another driver who ran a stoplight. She mentions that she was admitted to a nearby hospital to undergo surgery for a major pelvic fracture she sustained during the collision. Kerry says that she contracted HIV when she received HIV-contaminated blood during a blood transfusion while in surgery.

Low Justice Threat. Kerry also talks about how she contracted the virus in the first place. During the interview she describes how she went home with a guy after a party thrown by a “friend of a friend.” She says that while her friends told her that that guy she went home with had been known to sleep around, she had unprotected sex with him anyway. She says that the guy she had sex with was HIV positive, and she contracted the virus on that particular night.

Appendix F: Race Refugee Vignette

Instructions: Below you will find information about Madut. Please read the information carefully.

Race matters in Africa. Born in rural South Sudan in 1979, Madut had a childhood plagued by violence and war. By the mid 1980s, the second Sudanese civil war had broken out, and many villages were burned down, crops destroyed, and cattle killed.

At the age of 24 in 2003, Madut realized that the situation was becoming extremely dangerous for members of his ethnic group. Villagers from across Sudan were being persecuted based on their race and were forced to flee when the attacks intensified. Tens of thousands of people were killed. In 2005, Madut fled to the town of Wau in Sudan, and shortly thereafter joined a small group of villagers—who were all members of his racial group—on a dangerous 2 month trek to Ethiopia.

Madut arrived at a United Nations refugee camp, located near the border, very ill from infected wounds sustained along the way. It took several months for him to recover. But less than 12 months after his arrival, war broke out in Ethiopia, and those in the refugee camps were told that they were no longer safe. Madut had to flee again—a journey that took him to Pochalla, a town near the Sudan-Ethiopia border. He spent 9 months there before embarking on yet another journey in 2009 that finally brought him to Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, where he has spent the last 2 years.

“Conditions at the camps are difficult at times,” says Madut. Food is distributed every 2 weeks but often lasts only 8 days; many people go for days without getting enough water to cover essential needs.

Although he was almost 30 years old when he arrived, Madut started attending a school set up in the camp. Today, he says that the school saved him. “Had I not gone to school in the camp,” says Madut, “I never would have applied to the Student Refugee Program.” Madut focused on his studies, knowing that education could be a way out of the refugee camp. He is now applying to the Student Refugee Program run by World University Service of Canada. Madut has no other alternative options to leave the refugee camp. If he does not receive this scholarship, he will likely continue to suffer and spend most of his adult life in the camp.

According to Madut, “You need strong mentorship—people who believe in your ability and, at the same time, who realize that you are still learning how to achieve your potential. Canada can give me this.”

Appendix G: Political Refugee Vignette

Instructions: Below you will find information about Madut. Please read the information carefully.

Political affiliations matter in Africa. Born in rural South Sudan in 1979, Madut had a childhood plagued by violence and war. By the mid 1980s, the second Sudanese civil war had broken out, and many villages were burned down, crops destroyed, and cattle killed.

At the age of 24 in 2003, Madut joined the Democratic Unionist Party in Sudan, which was an opposition party that criticized the ruling National Congress Party. Villagers from across Sudan were being persecuted based on their political affiliations and were forced to flee when the attacks intensified. Tens of thousands of people were killed. In 2005, Madut fled to the town of Wau in Sudan, and shortly thereafter joined a small group of villagers—who were all members of the Democratic Unionist Party—on a dangerous 2 month trek to Ethiopia.

Madut arrived at a United Nations refugee camp, located near the border, very ill from infected wounds sustained along the way. It took several months for him to recover. But less than 12 months after his arrival, war broke out in Ethiopia, and those in the refugee camps were told that they were no longer safe. Madut had to flee again—a journey that took him to Pochalla, a town near the Sudan-Ethiopia border. He spent 9 months there before embarking on yet another journey in 2009 that finally brought him to Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, where he has spent the last 2 years.

“Conditions at the camps are difficult at times,” says Madut. Food is distributed every 2 weeks but often lasts only 8 days; many people go for days without getting enough water to cover essential needs.

Although he was almost 30 years old when he arrived, Madut started attending a school set up in the camp. Today, he says that the school saved him. “Had I not gone to school in the camp,” says Madut, “I never would have applied to the Student Refugee Program.” Madut focused on his studies, knowing that education could be a way out of the refugee camp. He is now applying to the Student Refugee Program run by World University Service of Canada. Madut has no other alternative options to leave the refugee camp. If he does not receive this scholarship, he will likely continue to suffer and spend most of his adult life in the camp.

According to Madut, “You need strong mentorship—people who believe in your ability and, at the same time, who realize that you are still learning how to achieve your potential. Canada can give me this.”

Appendix H: Global Belief in a Just World Scale (Lipkus, 1991)

Please answer the following items by indicating the number on the scale that best expresses your belief (Strongly Disagree = 1; Strong Agree = 7)

1. I feel that people get what they are entitled to have.
2. I feel that a person's efforts are noticed and rewarded.
3. I feel that people earn the rewards and punishments they get.
4. I feel that people who meet with misfortune have brought it on themselves.
5. I feel that people get what they deserve.
6. I feel that rewards and punishments are fairly given.
7. I basically feel that the world is a fair place.

Appendix I: Responsibility, Acceptance into the Student Refugee Program, and Compensation

Instructions: Below you will find a series of statements about Madut and the Student Refugee Program. Please read each statement carefully and respond to it by choosing the response that best applies to you.

1. How much do you think Madut is responsible for his status as a refugee?

Not at all responsible Very responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Do you think that Madut should be accepted into the University of Western Ontario's Student Refugee Program?

No, Definitely Not Yes, Definitely

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. (If yes) *University of Western Ontario's (Government of Canada; External private citizens)* limited annual scholarship fund have made funding available to provide Madut with a scholarship. Please indicate how much the scholarship awarded to Madut should be worth, in dollars.

\$_____

Appendix J: Materials for Study Two

Letter of Information

Project Title: Processing emotional cues

Principal Investigators: V. Esses

This research involves completing two questionnaires about your opinions and attitudes, and reviewing a short video presentation of a young woman discussing her emotionally trying experiences living with HIV. You will be asked to complete questions about yourself, the young woman from the video (including your perceptions of her emotional expressions and experiences), and more general questions about her situation. This study will take less than 30 minutes to complete, and you will receive a half (.5) research credit in return for your participation.

There are no known physical or psychological risks associated with participating in this study. You are free to leave blank any questions that you do not wish to answer, and you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of credit. All of the data that you provide will be kept confidential and used for research purposes only.

At the end of this session you will receive written feedback outlining the purpose and hypotheses of the studies, and will be provided the opportunity to ask questions.

If you have questions about these research studies, and/or if you want to obtain copies of the results of this research upon its completion, please contact Amanda DeVaul-Fetters, Dr. Victoria Esses, or Dr. James Olson. These results may be published in professional journals of psychological research.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Director at the Office of Research Ethics, The University of Western Ontario.

Letter of Information

Project Title: UWO Scholarship Program

Principal Investigators: A. DeVaul-Fetters, V. Esses, J. Olson

In this study, you will learn about the Student Refugee Program and read background information concerning a current applicant to the program. Finally, you will be asked to respond to a few questions about the applicant, various social issues, as well as some general questions about yourself. This study will take less than 30 minutes to complete, and you will receive a half (.5) research credit in return for your participation.

There are no known physical or psychological risks associated with participating in this study. You are free to leave blank any questions that you do not wish to answer, and you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of credit. All of the data that you provide will be kept confidential and used for research purposes only.

At the end of this session you will receive written feedback outlining the purpose and hypotheses of the studies, and will be provided the opportunity to ask questions.

If you have questions about these research studies, and/or if you want to obtain copies of the results of this research upon its completion, please contact Amanda DeVaul-Fetters, Dr. Victoria Esses, or Dr. James Olson. These results may be published in professional journals of psychological research.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Director at the Office of Research Ethics, The University of Western Ontario.

Research Consent Form

Project Title: Processing emotional cues

Principal Investigators: V. Esses

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate in this study. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name of participant

Date

Signature of participant

Name of researcher

Date

Signature of researcher

Research Consent Form

Project Title: UWO Scholarship Program

Principal Investigators: A. DeVaul-Fetters, V. Esses, J. Olson

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate in this study. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name of participant

Date

Signature of participant

Name of researcher

Date

Signature of researcher

Debriefing Form

Project Title: Processing emotional cues and UWO Scholarship Program

Principal Investigators: A. DeVaul-Fetters, V. Esses, J. Olson

Dear Research Participant:

Thank you for participating in our study. In this study, we had you view a video presentation of Kerry. Then, we asked you to read about the Student Refugee Program and respond to questions regarding Madut, a young refugee.

Lerner's (1980) just world theory posits that people need to believe that the world is basically a just place where people generally get what they deserve. Presumably, blaming victims enables people to keep their belief in a just world intact, as a victim who is responsible for his or her plight poses less of a threat. Little research has examined the potential consequences of threats to just world beliefs and how we view different types of refugees.

Thus, in the present study, we had you view the video presentation of Kerry. In this study, some participants learn that Kerry was an innocent victim, that is, she contracted the virus when she received HIV-tainted blood during a blood transfusion following a car accident. On the other hand, other participants learn that Kerry was more blameworthy, that is, she contracted HIV when she had unprotected sex with a man she didn't know. Just world theory suggests that an innocent victim poses a greater threat to the belief in a just world and consequently a greater desire to manage the threat imposed.

As a part of a different study, we then had you read about the Student Refugee Program. Although this is an actual program and parts of Madut's story were real, his application to Western University was fictitious. As the foregoing discussion suggests, we were interested in studying whether the framing of how Kerry contracted HIV would have an impact on the way people felt about refugees to Canada.

We were unable to tell you this information before you began because this it might have influenced your reactions to the questionnaires. Similarly, we would appreciate it if you did not disclose the details to your classmates prior to their participation.

In closing, please be assured that all of your responses in this experiment will be treated as confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Your name will not be recorded on your questionnaire or associated with your answers. Again, thanks for participating in this study

Suggest Readings:

Hafer, C. L. & Begue, L. (2005). Experimental research on just world theory: Problems, developments, and future challenges. *Psychological Bulletin*, 131, 128-166.

Haynes, G. A., & Olson, J. M. (2006). Coping with threats to just world beliefs: Derogate, blame, or help? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36, 664-682.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you should contact the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

Sincerely,

Amanda DeVaul-Fetters, M.S.
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Psychology

Dr. Victoria Esses
Professor of Psychology
University of Western Ontario

Dr. James Olson
Professor of Psychology
University of Western Ontario

Appendix K: Study 2 Refugee Vignette

Instructions: Below you will find information about Madut. Please read the information carefully. You will be asked questions about Madut later.

Born in rural South Sudan in 1988, Madut had a childhood plagued by violence and war. By the mid-1990s, the second Sudanese civil war had broken out, and many villages were burned down, crops destroyed, and cattle killed.

At the age of 15 in 2003, Madut realized that the situation was becoming extremely dangerous. Villagers from across Sudan were being persecuted and were forced to flee when the attacks intensified. Tens of thousands of people were killed. In 2005, Madut fled to the town of Wau in Sudan, and shortly thereafter joined a small group of villagers on a dangerous 2 month trek to Ethiopia.

Madut arrived at a United Nations refugee camp, located near the border. It took several months for him to recover. But less than 12 months after his arrival, war broke out in Ethiopia, and those in the refugee camps were told that they were no longer safe. Madut had to flee again—a journey that took him to Pochalla, a town near the Sudan-Ethiopia border. He spent 9 months there before embarking on yet another journey in 2009 that finally brought him to Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, where he has spent the last 2 years.

“Conditions at the camps are difficult at times,” says Madut. Food is distributed every 2 weeks but often lasts only 8 days; many people go for days without getting enough water to cover essential needs.

Although he was almost 23 years old when he arrived, Madut started attending a school set up in the camp. Today, he says that the school saved him. “Had I not gone to school in the camp,” says Madut, “I never would have applied to the Student Refugee Program.” Madut focused on his studies, knowing that education could be a way out of the refugee camp. He is now applying to the Student Refugee Program run by World University Service of Canada. Madut has no other options to leave the refugee camp. If he does not receive this scholarship, he will likely continue to suffer and spend most of his adult life in the camp.

According to Madut, “You need strong mentorship—people who believe in your ability and, at the same time, who realize that you are still learning how to achieve your potential. Canada can give me this.”

Appendix L: Prosocial Values (Struch & Schwartz, 1989)

Rate the extent to which you disagree or agree with following statements by choosing the number that represents your response (0 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree)

1. Refugees are considerate and compassionate of others.
2. Refugees show concern for the welfare of all of society's members.
3. Refugees raise their children to be humane.
4. Canadians are considerate and compassionate of others.
5. Canadians show concern for the welfare of all of society's members.
6. Canadians raise their children to be humane.

Appendix M: Explicit Measure of Dehumanization: Enemy/Barbarian Images
(Alexander et al., 1999)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by choosing the appropriate number on the scale below (Strongly Disagree = 1; Strongly Agree = 7)

1. Madut would take advantage of any efforts on our part to cooperate, and he would even try to exploit us.
2. Madut takes whatever he wants from others.
3. Madut enjoys getting his way even if it spoils things for others.
4. Madut is extremely competitive and wants to dominate but will play by the rules.
5. Madut is crude, unsophisticated, and willing to cheat to get his way.
6. Madut's objectives are self-centered and harmful to others.

Appendix N: Materials for Study Three

Project Title: Processing Emotional Cues

Principal Investigator: Victoria Esses, PhD, Department of Psychology, Western University

Letter of Information

1. Invitation to Participate

You are being invited to participate in this research study processing emotional cues.

2. Purpose of the Letter

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with information required for you to make an informed decision regarding participation in this research.

3. Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between people's personal opinions, attitudes, and their opinions regarding a recently published news article.

4. Inclusion Criteria

Individuals who are students in the psychology subject pool and are likely between the ages of 17 and 65 are eligible to participate.

5. Exclusion Criteria

There are no specific exclusion criteria.

6. Study Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to read a news article on a computer and complete a questionnaire about various aspects of the article and yourself. It is anticipated that the entire task will take less than a half hour, over one session. The task(s) will be conducted online via Qualtrics. There will be a total of 120 participants.

7. Possible Risks and Harms

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study.

8. Possible Benefits

You may not directly benefit from participating in this study but information gathered may provide benefits to society as a whole which include a greater understanding of intergroup relations.

9. Compensation

You will receive .25 credit toward your research participation course requirement.

10. Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your future academic status and without loss of promised credit.

11. Confidentiality

All data collected will remain confidential and accessible only to the investigators of this study. If the results are published, your name will not be used. If you choose to withdraw from this study, your data will be removed and destroyed from our database.

12. Contacts for Further Information

If you require any further information regarding this research project or your participation in the study you may contact Victoria Esses or Amanda DeVaul-Fetters.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Research Ethics.

13. Publication

If the results of the study are published, your name will not be used. If you would like to receive a copy of any potential study results, please contact Amanda DeVaul-Fetters.

14. Consent

Completion of the survey is indication of your consent to participate. By clicking the “next” button at the bottom of your screen you will be implying that you consent to participate in this research.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.



Consent Form

Project Title: Processing Emotional Cues

Study Investigator's Name: Victoria Esses

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Participant's Name (please print):

Participant's Signature:

Date:

Person Obtaining Informed Consent (please print):

Signature:

Date:

Project Title: Examining a Scholarship Program

Principal Investigator:

Victoria Esses, PhD, Department of Psychology, Western University

Letter of Information

1. Invitation to Participate

You are being invited to participate in this research study Examining a Scholarship Program.

2. Purpose of the Letter

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with information required for you to make an informed decision regarding participation in this research.

3. Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate people's opinions on an applicant to a scholarship program.

4. Inclusion Criteria

Individuals who are students in the psychology subject pool and are likely between the ages of 17 and 65 are eligible to participate.

5. Exclusion Criteria

There are no specific exclusion criteria.

6. Study Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will learn about a scholarship program offered at Western and read background information concerning a current applicant to the program. Finally, you will be asked to respond to a few questions about the applicant, various social issues, as well as some general questions about yourself. All of this will be done on a computer. It is anticipated that the entire task will take less than a half hour, over one session. The task(s) will be conducted online via Qualtrics. There will be a total of 120 participants.

7. Possible Risks and Harms

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study.

8. Possible Benefits

You may not directly benefit from participating in this study but information gathered may provide benefits to society as a whole which include a greater understanding of intergroup relations.

9. Compensation

You will receive .25 credit toward your research participation course requirement.

10. Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect on your future academic status and without loss of promised credit.

11. Confidentiality

All data collected will remain confidential and accessible only to the investigators of this study. If the results are published, your name will not be used. If you choose to withdraw from this study, your data will be removed and destroyed from our database.

12. Contacts for Further Information

If you require any further information regarding this research project or your participation in the study you may contact Victoria Esses or Amanda DeVaul-Fetters.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Research Ethics.

13. Publication

If the results of the study are published, your name will not be used. If you would like to receive a copy of any potential study results, please contact Amanda DeVaul-Fetters.

14. Consent

Completion of the survey is indication of your consent to participate. By clicking the “next” button at the bottom of your screen you will be implying that you consent to participate in this research.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Consent Form

Project Title: Examining a Scholarship Program

Study Investigator's Name: Amanda DeVaul-Fetters

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Participant's Name (please print):

Participant's Signature:

Date:

Person Obtaining Informed Consent (please print):

Signature:

Date:

DEBRIEFING FORM

Title of Research: Processing emotional cues and Examining a Scholarship Program

Research Investigators:

Dr. Victoria Esses (Faculty)

Amanda DeVaul-Fetters, M.S.

Thank you for participating in our study. In this study, we had you read a newspaper article about Christopher who was injured while on vacation. Then, we asked you to read about either the Student Refugee Program (SRP) or the Student Immigrant Program (SIP) and respond to questions regarding Madut.

Lerner's (1980) just world theory posits that people need to believe that the world is basically a just place where people generally get what they deserve. Presumably, blaming victims enables people to keep their belief in a just world intact, as a victim who is responsible for his or her plight poses less of a threat. Little research has examined the potential consequences of threats to just world beliefs and how we view different types of refugees.

Thus, in the present study, we had you read about Christopher and Sarah. Although this was a real news article, the names, location of the event, and severity of the injuries were changed. In this study, some participants learned that Christopher was severely injured and the suspect was never caught. On the other hand, other participants learned that Christopher had minor injuries and the suspect was caught and would likely serve a prison sentence. Just world theory suggests when told that Christopher received serious injuries without justice (the suspect was never caught), this scenario posed a greater threat to the belief in a just world and consequently a greater desire to manage the threat imposed.

As a part of a different study, we then had you read about either the SRP or the SIP. Although the SRP actual program parts of Madut's story were real, his application to Western University was fictitious. While the descriptions about Madut as a refugee were taken from a real testimony, the descriptions of Madut as an immigrant were created to represent a typical immigrant story. In this study, some participants were told that Madut was a refugee and some were told that he was an immigrant. As the foregoing discussion suggests, we were interested in studying whether the framing of Christopher's injuries and subsequent resolved justice would have an impact on the way people felt about refugees to Canada.

We were unable to tell you this information before you began because this it might have influenced your reactions to the questionnaires. Similarly, we would appreciate it if you did not disclose the details to your classmates prior to their participation. In closing, please be assured that all of your responses in this experiment will be treated as confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Your name

will not be recorded on your questionnaire or associated with your answers. Again, thanks for participating in this study. Without your involvement, it would not be possible to conduct this research.

If you have any further questions about this research please contact Dr. Victoria Esses or Amanda DeVaul-Fetters. Thank you for helping us with this project--your time is much appreciated. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

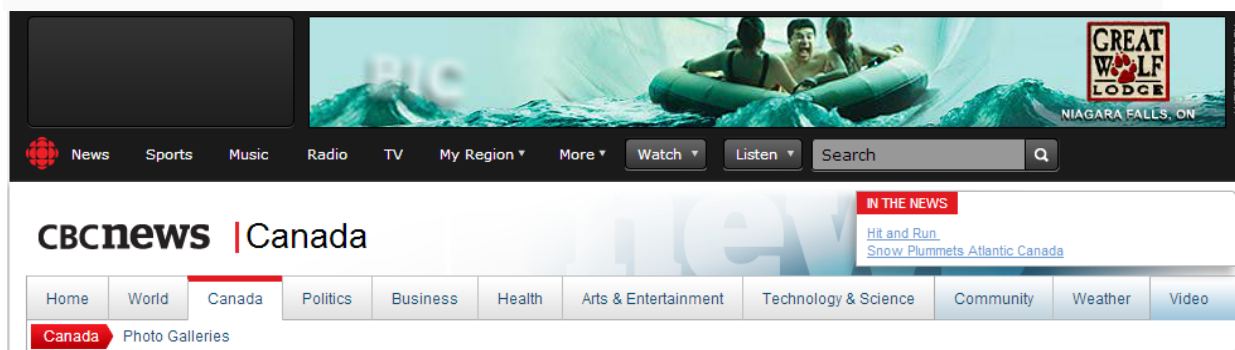
References:

Hafer, C. L. & Begue, L. (2005). Experimental research on just world theory: Problems, developments, and future challenges. *Psychological Bulletin*, 131, 128-166.

Haynes, G. A., & Olson, J. M. (2006). Coping with threats to just world beliefs: Derogate, blame, or help? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36, 664-682.

Appendix O: High Threat Manipulation Study 3

Today, we would like you to carefully read a published article, and answer several questions regarding its content.



Canadian Is Severely Injured In US After Apparent Hit & Run – Suspect Flees

Country

CBC News Posted: Jan 14. 2013 5:03 PM ET | Last updated: Jan 18. 2013 8:44



Another apparent hit-and-run in the United States has severely impacted a Canadian vacationer and left his family shattered and searching for answers.

The Foreign Affairs Department confirmed that 47-year-old Christopher Johnson lost both of his legs after being hit by a vehicle while visiting the city of Phoenix, Arizona.

REGIONS

British Columbia	Kitchener-Waterloo
Kamloops	Hamilton
Calgary	Toronto
Edmonton	Ottawa
Saskatchewan	Montreal
Saskatoon	New Brunswick
Manitoba	Prince Edward Island
Thunder Bay	Nova Scotia
Sudbury	Newfoundland & Labrador
Windsor	North

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The incident took place on Wednesday and Johnson's 44-year-old wife, Sarah, was also injured. She suffered two broken legs and head injuries, and remains in hospital.

"You always have that knot in your stomach when something like this happens," said Sarah's father, Charles Barnes.

The couple, from Chatham Ont., were snowbirds who were renting a home in the area when tragedy struck.

Foreign Affairs Department spokesman Alain Cacchione confirmed Canadian consular officials were informed of the incident by their American counterparts and that local authorities are investigating the mishap. But catching the suspect appears unlikely. Authorities revealed that the suspect is believed to have fled to Mexico, a country that will refuse to extradite him back to the US.

The family plans to continue their probe for the truth and seek justice, just one day after Christopher's legs had to be amputated, while Charles Barnes hopes for better from Ottawa. "I just hope our government gets on the bandwagon on this stuff because there's got to be more recognition for Canadians down there."

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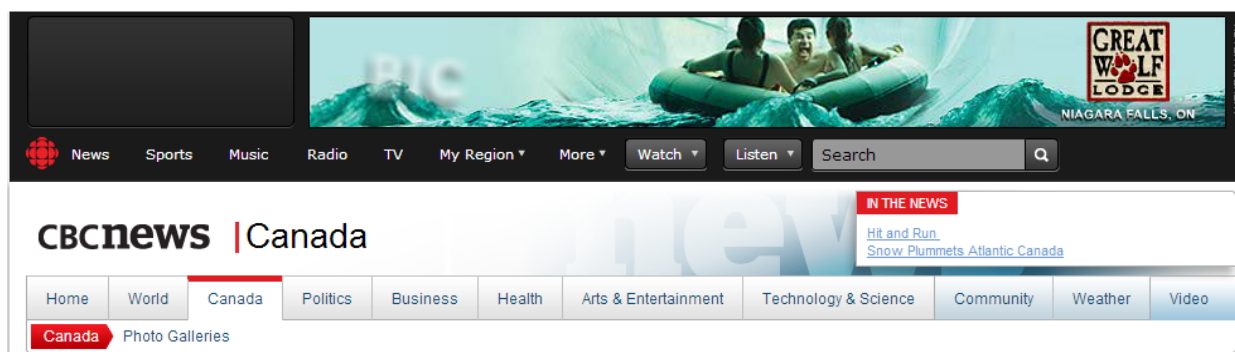
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Appendix P: Low Threat Manipulation Study 3

Today, we would like you to carefully read a published article, and answer several questions regarding its content.



Canadian Is Injured In US After Apparent Hit & Run – Suspect Caught

CBC News Posted: Jan 14. 2013 5:03 PM ET | Last updated: Jan 18. 2013 8:44



Another apparent hit-and-run in the United States has impacted a Canadian vacationer and left his family grateful for their second chance at life.

The Foreign Affairs Department confirmed that 47-year old Christopher Johnson broke one of his legs after being hit by a vehicle while visiting the city of Phoenix, Arizona. His injury did not require surgery and he is expected to make a complete recovery.

REGIONS

British Columbia	Kitchener-Waterloo
Kamloops	Hamilton
Calgary	Toronto
Edmonton	Ottawa
Saskatchewan	Montreal
Saskatoon	New Brunswick
Manitoba	Prince Edward Island
Thunder Bay	Nova Scotia
Sudbury	Newfoundland & Labrador
Windsor	North

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The incident took place on Wednesday and Johnson's 44-year-old wife, Sarah, experienced minor injuries. She suffered bruising on her legs and minor head injuries, but is expected to recover quickly.

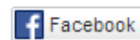
“You always have that knot in your stomach when something like this happens,” said Sarah’s father, Charles Barnes.

The couple, from Chatham Ont., were snowbirds who were renting a home in the area when tragedy struck.

Foreign Affairs Department spokesman Alain Cacchione confirmed Canadian consular officials were informed of the incident by their American counterparts and that local authorities have apprehended the suspect who was attempting to flee to Mexico, a country that would have refused to extradite him back to the US. He is being charged with fleeing the scene of an accident and is facing felony charges. He is expected to serve prison time.

Charles Barnes has expressed his gratitude to the Canadian government. “I am pleased that our government got on the bandwagon on this stuff and supported my family members.”

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Comments on this story are pre-moderated. Before they appear, comments are reviewed by moderators to ensure they meet our [submission guidelines](#). Comments are open and welcome for three days after the story is published. We reserve the right to close comments before then.

Appendix Q: Immigrant Vignette Study Three

Born in rural South Sudan in 1995, Madut had an average childhood, similar to that of most Canadian children. By the late 2000s, his father had to make a tough decision in order to provide a better future for his family.

In 2008, Madut's father decided to accept a new position within his company and relocate to Canada. The family felt it was best to disrupt Madut's life as little as possible. They wanted him to enjoy his teenage years and graduate with the classmates he grew up with. Thus, it was decided that Madut would stay in Sudan to complete his studies, and then reunite with his family upon graduating from high school. Although this was hard at first, the family knew it meant they would all have a better life.

When Madut began high school, his mother moved to Canada to join his father. Although this was a hard decision, she respected Madut's desire to remain in Sudan until he finished high school. In the end, Madut chose to live with his Aunt. It was a difficult decision but he was confident that this was the right choice for his family.

Madut's senior year finally arrived and with it came the stress of university and visa applications, but also excitement for his future in Canada. It took several months for him to complete all the necessary steps to apply as a family-class immigrant but he was finally successful. He is now hoping to receive a scholarship to attend university in Canada.

Madut says that staying in school in Sudan saved him. "Had I not gone to school in Sudan," says Madut, "I never would have applied to the Student Immigrant Program." Madut focused on his studies, knowing that he wanted to continue his education and join his family in Canada. He is now applying to the Student Immigrant Program run by World University Service of Canada. Madut has no other payment options for University. If he does not receive this scholarship, he will likely not be able to continue his education in Canada and may not join his family there.

According to Madut, "You need strong mentorship—people who believe in your ability and, at the same time, who realize that you are still learning how to achieve your potential. Canada can give me this."

Appendix R: World University Service of Canada (WUSC) Student Immigrant Program (SIP) Immigrant Condition

Instructions: The University of Western Ontario needs your help deciding whether or not to accept and fund Madut, an immigrant from Sudan, into Western's Student Immigrant Program. Below you will find information regarding immigrants and **the Student Immigrant Program**. Please read the information carefully.

The Student Immigrant Program (SIP) is a small program that provides opportunities for a limited number of immigrants to continue their post-secondary studies in Canada. It is managed by World University Service of Canada (WUSC), a leading non-profit Canadian international development agency. Through its agreements with the Government of Canada and the Government of Québec, WUSC enables students sponsored through the program to enter Canada as permanent residents.

What is an immigrant?

An immigrant is a person who migrates from his or her country of birth to another country. There are many different ways for immigrants to come to Canada. The most common way is to apply as a federal skilled worker. Federal skilled workers are a class of immigrants who come to Canada based on their work and educational experiences. Another way to immigrant to Canada is to be sponsored by a family member. Family class immigrants are people who are brought to Canada and sponsored by a family member who is a Canadian citizen or permanent resident.

For most immigrants, there are few or no immigrant-specific programs that provide opportunities to continue post-secondary education. Since 1978, WUSC's Student Immigrant Program (SIP) has helped address this shortage by enabling student immigrants to pursue their studies at Canadian universities and colleges.

From countries of origin as diverse as Ethiopia, Germany, Mexico, Rwanda, China, Sudan, Burma and Afghanistan, most have successfully completed their studies and are now active Canadian Citizens making valuable contributions to their communities. Others have returned to their home countries and are contributing as nation builders or active community members.

Appendix S: Immigrant Prosocial Values (Struch & Schwartz, 1989)

Rate the extent to which you disagree or agree with following statements by choosing the number that represents your response (0 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree)

1. Immigrants are considerate and compassionate of others.
2. Immigrants show concern for the welfare of all of society's members.
3. Immigrants raise their children to be humane.
4. Canadians are considerate and compassionate of others.
5. Canadians show concern for the welfare of all of society's members.
6. Canadians raise their children to be humane.

Appendix T: Fairness and Ability to Avoid Questions for Study Three

1. I feel that Madut's current situation is:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Completely
fair						fair

2. To what extent do you believe Madut could have avoided the current situation?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Extremely

Appendix U: Ethics Approval Forms



Department of Psychology

Use of Human Subjects - Ethics Approval Notice

Review Number	12 03 20	Approval Date	12 03 23
Principal Investigator	Jim Olson/Vicki Esses/Amanda DeVaul-Fetters	End Date	13 03 22
Protocol Title	Two short studies: Processing emotional cues and the student refugee program		
Sponsor	n/a		

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Department of Psychology Research Ethics Board (PREB) has granted expedited ethics approval to the above named research study on the date noted above.

The PREB is a sub-REB of The University of Western Ontario's Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. (See Office of Research Ethics web site: <http://www.uwo.ca/research/ethics/>)

This approval shall remain valid until end date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the University's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form may be initiated without prior written approval from the PREB except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to the subject or when the change(s) involve only logistical or administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of research assistant, telephone number etc). Subjects must receive a copy of the information/consent documentation.

Investigators must promptly also report to the PREB:

- a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;
- b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
- c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment advertisement, the newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or advertisement, must be submitted to the PREB for approval.

Members of the PREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the PREB.

Clive Seligman Ph.D.

Chair, Psychology Expedited Research Ethics Board (PREB)

The other members of the 2011-2012 PREB are: Mike Atkinson (Introductory Psychology Coordinator), Rick Goffin, Riley Hinson, Albert Katz (Department Chair), Steve Lupker, and Karen Dickson (Graduate Student Representative)

CC: UWO Office of Research Ethics

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files



changed - online

Department of Psychology

Use of Human Subjects - Ethics Approval Notice

Review Number	12 09 28	Approval Date	12 09 26
Principal Investigator	Vicki Esses/Jim Olson/Amanda DeVaul-Fetters	End Date	13 04 15
Protocol Title	Two short studies: Processing emotional cues and UWO scholarship program		
Sponsor	n/a		

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Department of Psychology Research Ethics Board (PREB) has granted expedited ethics approval to the above named research study on the date noted above.

The PREB is a sub-REB of The University of Western Ontario's Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. (See Office of Research Ethics web site: <http://www.uwo.ca/research/ethics/>)

This approval shall remain valid until end date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the University's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form may be initiated without prior written approval from the PREB except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to the subject or when the change(s) involve only logistical or administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of research assistant, telephone number etc). Subjects must receive a copy of the information/consent documentation.

Investigators must promptly also report to the PREB:

- a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;
- b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
- c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment advertisement, the newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or advertisement, must be submitted to the PREB for approval.

Members of the PREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the PREB.

Clive Seligman Ph.D.

Chair, Psychology Expedited Research Ethics Board (PREB)

The other members of the 2012-2013 PREB are: Mike Atkinson (Introductory Psychology Coordinator), Rick Goffin, Riley Hinson Albert Katz (Department Chair), Steve Lupker, and TBA (Graduate Student Representative)

CC: UWO Office of Research Ethics

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files



Research Ethics

Use of Human Participants - Initial Ethics Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Prof. Vicki Esses
 File Number: 104773
 Review Level: Delegated
 Protocol Title: Two short studies: Processing emotional cues and examining a scholarship program
 Department & Institution: Social Science\Psychology\Western University
 Sponsor:
 Ethics Approval Date: January 24, 2014 Expiry Date: May 31, 2014

Documents Reviewed & Approved & Documents Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Recruitment Items	Original. Experimental Pool Poster	2013/12/05
Instruments	Received Jan 13 2014. Study 3 Documents	2014/01/16
Revised Western University Protocol	Received Jan 16 2014	
Letter of Information & Consent	Received Jan 23 2014. LOI & Consent - Scholarship Program	2014/01/20
Letter of Information & Consent	Received Jan 23 2014. LOI & Consent - Processing Emotional Cues	2014/01/20
Other	Received Jan 23 2014. Debriefing Form	2014/01/20

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the approval date noted above.

This approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the NMREB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

Members of the NMREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the NMREB.

The Chair of the NMREB is Dr. Riley Hinson. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the JRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information

<input type="checkbox"/> Grace Kelly	<input type="checkbox"/> Vikki Tran	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mina Mekhail	<input type="checkbox"/> Erika Basile
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This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

CURRICULUM VITAE

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Name: Amanda DeVaul-Fetters (Amanda DeVaul)

Place of birth: Kansas City, Missouri

EDUCATION

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 2014, expected | Ph.D. in Social Psychology with an interdisciplinary specialization in Migration and Ethnic Relations
Department of Psychology
Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration & Ethnic Relations
The University of Western Ontario, London, ON, Canada |
| 2010 | Masters of Science in Psychology
Department of Psychology
University of Central Missouri, Warrensburg, MO, |
| 2008 | Bachelors of Arts in Psychology (Summa Cum Laude)
Department of Psychology
Benedictine College, Atchison, KS |

PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS

Instructor

- | | |
|------|--|
| 2014 | Introduction to Social Psychology, University of Western Ontario |
| 2012 | Introduction to Social Psychology, University of Western Ontario |

Lab Instructor

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 2013 | Attitudes and Attitude Change, University of Western Ontario |
| 2011-2012 | Research Methods, University of Western Ontario |

Teaching Assistant

- | | |
|------|--|
| 2012 | The Human Mind, University of Western Ontario |
| 2011 | Social Psychology, University of Western Ontario |
| 2010 | The Human Mind, University of Western Ontario |

HONORS, SCHOLARSHIPS, AND AWARDS

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 2013 | Frances E. Aboud Award for Best Student Poster, CPA International Canadian Psychological Association, Quebec City, Quebec, \$100 |
| 2012-2013 | Western Graduate Research Scholarship, University of Western Ontario, \$18,000 |

2011-2012	Nominated for “Best Teaching Assistant” award University of Western Ontario
2011-2012	Western Graduate Research Scholarship, University of Western Ontario, \$18,000
2011	Dean’s Graduate Scholarship in Migration and Ethnic Relations, University of Western Ontario, \$2000
2010-2011	Western Graduate Research Scholarship, University of Western Ontario, \$16,000
2010	Reid Hemphill Outstanding Graduate Scholar Award, University of Central Missouri, \$1000
2010	Outstanding Graduate Student Award, College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences, University of Central Missouri, \$300
2010	Outstanding Graduate Student Award, Department of Psychology, University of Central Missouri
2010	Great Plains Student Psychology Convention First Place, Graduate Oral Presentation, March, 2010
2009	UCM Maastricht Medallion International Scholarship for Students, \$5000
2008	Valedictorian, Benedictine College, Atchison, KS
2006-2008	Slief-Morales Scholarship, \$400
2006-2008	Lou Borserine Scholarship, \$1000
2006-2008	Dan & Terri Carrey Award, \$1000
2004-2008	President’s List, Benedictine College, Atchison, KS

RESEARCH INTERESTS

How immigrants and newcomers can overcome barriers to health and fitness, how to motivate inactive people to become physically active, how public attitudes towards immigrants affect immigration policy, prejudice towards immigrants and refugees.

PUBLICATIONS

Burton, S., Ament, P., **DeVaul, A.** (2010). Dissection manual. Warrensburg, MO: UCM.

CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES AND UNIVERSITY PRESENTATIONS

Conference Presentations – Paper Presentations

DeVaul, A. N. (2010, March). *Influence of Prejudicial Factors on Immigrants and the U.S. Naturalization Test*. Paper presented at the 30th annual Great Plains Students' Psychology Convention, Missouri Western, St. Joseph, MO.

Johnson, A., **DeVaul, A. N.**, & Ilu, D. (2009, March). *Eyewitness identification legislation reform: The criminal justice perspective*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Boston, MA.

Pickert, M., Hermes, A., **DeVaul, A. N.**, & Winkel, R. (2007, March). *Levels of anger and disgust in liberals and conservatives*. Paper presented at the 27th annual Great Plains Students' Psychology Convention, Friends University, Wichita, KS.

DeVaul, A. N., & Mathiowetz, R. (2006, July). *Prospective memory strategies in younger and older adults*. Paper presented at the Research Experience for Undergraduates (REU), Bowling Green, KY.

Conference Presentations – Posters

DeVaul-Fetters, A. N., Esses, V. M., Belanger, D., Da, W., Lehmann, W. (2013, June). Attracting and Retaining International Students at Canadian Universities. Poster presented at the 74th annual meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association, Quebec City, QC.

DeVaul-Fetters, A. N., Esses, V. M., & Olson, J. M. (2013, January). The Blame Game: Threat Motivates Blaming Refugees to Restore Belief in a Just World. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, New Orleans, LA.

DeVaul-Fetters, A. N. & Esses, V. M. (2012, June). Using Justification to Discriminate Against Women in Transnational Hiring. Poster presented at the biannual meeting of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Charlotte, NC.

Marsh, P. A., **DeVaul, A. N.**, & Seeley, J. S. (2011, May). Creatively combining Vocabulary testing and humanitarian contributions. Poster presented at the 83rd annual Midwestern Psychological Association-Society for the Teaching of Psychology, Chicago, IL.

Ryan, J. J., **DeVaul, A. N.**, Glass, L. A., & Paulo, A. M. (2010, February). *Neuropsychological differences between men and women with Alzheimer's Disease*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the International Neuropsychological Society, Acapulco, Mexico.

Stark-Wroblewski, K., Gross, A., **DeVaul, A. N.**, Dixon, T., & Johnson, E. (2010, February). *The effect of role models on women's perceptions of career-related barriers*. Poster presented at the Association of Women in Psychology. Portland, OR.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Membership in Professional Organizations

Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP) – Student member
 Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI) - Student member
 Association of Women in Psychology (AWP) – Student member
 Member of Psi Chi, Honors Society of Psychology

University Service

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 2012-present | Vice-president of Community Outreach and Fundraiser Liaison, Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration & Ethnic Relations, University of Western Ontario, London, ON |
| 2011 | Social Committee member, Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration & Ethnic Relations, University of Western Ontario, London, ON |
| 2010 | <p>Psychology Department Review Board, University of Central Missouri, Warrensburg.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reviewed course project proposals from undergraduate students in Research Design & Analysis courses. Applied knowledge of human subjects regulations and APA ethical principles. Helped develop review policies and procedures. Completed National Institutes of Health training course, <i>Protecting Human Research Participants</i> (http://phrp.nihtraining.com). • Assisted in coding juror surveys to be used to select a jury for a death penalty case. |
| 2005 | <p>Project Launch, Atchison, KS.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developed lesson plans for eighth grade females which promoted self-esteem, listening communication skills, and alternate activities to drugs and alcohol. |